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NuclearTimes

NEW YORK NUKES / PALESTINIAN NONVIOLENCE / POST-REAGANISM

Peace & Human Rights

Are U.S. activists ignoring East bloc abuses for the sake of superpower disarmament?

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No Bull.

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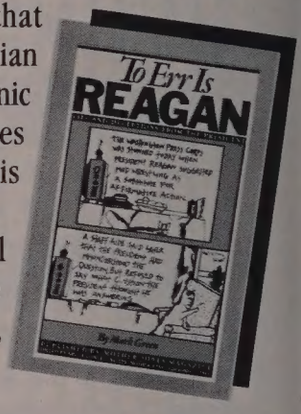

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Peace & Democracy News

The Bulletin of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West

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Cathy Fitzpatrick on Independent Movements in the USSR

Anne Manuel on El Salvador

Gays in Eastern Europe by Doug Ireland

Ben Webb on Post-INF Europe

Judith Hempfling on the Break-up of "Prague 88"

Changes from Above and from Below in the Soviet Union by Daniel Singer

plus features on Israel and the Palestinians, Rumania and more.

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LETTERS

Arguing with AFSC

The American Friends Service Committee labors under the illusion of being a pundit on the Middle East, whereas it is woefully ignorant [Network, July/August 1988]. AFSC's work is based on a Quaker belief. Explain to me how this "peace-loving" group supports the world's premier terrorist organization, the PLO.

Secondly, there is *no* "Israeli-Palestinian conflict." The formal conflict, which is between Arab states and Israel, came into being in 1948 when Arab states attacked Israel. However, Arab pogroms against Jews predated Israel by decades.

Third, AFSC asininely prattles about Israelis and Palestinians "talking with each other equally." What is equal between them? In 1947, the United Nations offered Jews and Palestinians each a state of their own. The Jews accepted. The Palestinians not only rejected the offer, but publicly declared *genocidal war* against Jews—a war they *lost*. Throughout history, those defeated in war have had *no* "rights."

Peace is not possible because of the Arabs' refusal to accept the existence of a Jewish state. It is unadulterated idiocy to ascribe the *cause* of Arab-Israeli conflict to land. Arabs held all the disputed territories in 1948, yet they *attacked* Israel. They held the land and attacked again in 1967. Why?

No Arab, Palestinian or not, has a legitimate claim to Israeli land. All the so-called "Arab" lands were controlled by Turks for 400 years, up to the end of World War I. Only an Allied victory resulted in those lands being lavishly distributed to Arabs, who fought with the Germans and the Turks in both world wars. Not all of the land went to the Arabs, however. Some remained unallocated. *All* of Palestine was given to the Jews, just a tiny fraction of what was given to the Arabs.

Bernard Brodsky
Brooklyn, New York

AFSC Secretary of Peace Education Joe Volk replies: Our years of direct work in the Middle East with Israeli Jews, Palestinian Arabs and Arabs of other countries have taught us that the picture is much more complex and subtle than Bernard Brodsky's views would suggest. Furthermore, we do not accept the idea that those defeated in war have no rights. That assumption is a sure recipe for an endless spiral of violent conflict. We cannot speak to each of Bernard Brodsky's points in a brief response. However, we have tried reflect on and document our experie and the lessons learned in our publicatic *A Compassionate Peace: A Future for Middle East* and *Missed Opportunities Peace: U.S. Middle East Policy 1982-19* For historical background, *Nuclear Ti* readers may also want to refer to How M. Sachar's *A History of Israel*. It is s pathetic to Israeli concerns and a hig accurate account.

At the center of the Middle East cris the conflict between the Israeli and the estinian peoples. That conflict has not b settled, and it will not go away by actin though a central party to the conflict— Palestinians—does not exist. The rec Jordanian disengagement from the W Bank and reaffirmation of PLO leader makes this conclusion all the more inesc able. Bernard Brodsky errs in saying AFSC supports the PLO. Rather, we rec nize all parties to the conflict, Israelis the Palestinians, including their chosen r resentative, the PLO. Our recognitio neither an endorsement nor support. know that peace is made when enen dare to talk. We would urge all peace-l ing organizations to recognize Israel the Palestinians and to encourage a neg ated peace between them. Mutual reco tion is a first and necessary step tow security and peace for both peoples.

Jackson for Peace

As a Rainbow Coalition and Jackson tivist for five years and the directo the Center for Peace Education in Cin nati, I wanted to respond to "Passing Jesse" in the July/August 1988 issue. article says "some peace activists have c sidered it wise not to quibble about Democratic candidates." Any peace acti must object to that kind of statement to the pro-war positions of Democr candidates and the party. When Mich Dukakis comes out for a "Conventic Defense Initiative" to replace SDI, we m object. When the Democratic Pa projects continued intervention in Third World, we must object.

The Jackson campaign was an alterna to these pro-war positions. Peace mo ment leaders who failed to support Jack missed a historic opportunity to build ances with the people who have the pability to bring about peace.

Steve Schumac
Cincinnati, O

DISPATCHES

IX NEEDS MPACT TATEMENT

RECENT DECISION IN THE -year legal battle against the X missile falls short of stopg the program, but it estabes a strong precedent requirthe military to file complete vironmental impact statents (EIS) for any new apon system deployments.

On May 18, the Eighth Cirt U.S. Court of Appeals in braska ruled in a 10-0 decin that the environmental ards of MX missiles based silos can be reviewed by the rts under the National Envimental Policy Act (NEPA). e law, enacted in 1969, res an EIS for all major govment projects.

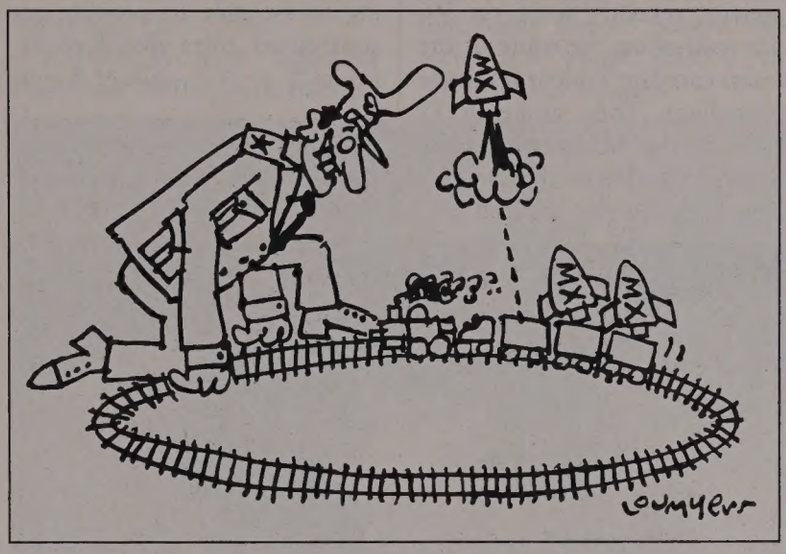
The state of Colorado and vironmental, religious, and ional citizens organizations solidated their efforts in a gle suit, *Friends of the Earth Air Force.* The plaintiffs ght to halt the deployment MX missiles in Minuteman s on grounds that the Air ce had failed to prepare a and adequate EIS as red by NEPA.

The court ruled that the Air ce is not required in its EIS assess the impact of intenal use of the MX missile em or reveal alternative bas modes for the MX or alterive weapons systems. Acding to the court's decision, rovision from the fiscal year 4 Defense Authorization limits the impact statement a review of the "peacetime rations of MX missiles in Minutemen silos."

But the court also ruled that a lawsuit challenging the Pentagon for not investigating environmental impacts related to a project or installation is an appropriate subject for judicial review. A lower court had previously ruled that this was a "political question" and refused to hear the case.

The state of Colorado will now pursue the suit, asking the lower court to review the Air Force's EIS on accidents, earthquakes, endangered species and other environmental effects. The Air Force is currently preparing a new EIS for its proposal to base additional MX missiles on railroad cars. This "rail garrison" system would be more publicly visible and could cause greater environmental damage. Friends of the Earth and others may use this recent ruling to challenge the new EIS if it fails to address all potential environmental impacts of the plan.

In July, the National Campaign to Stop the MX was created to organize opposition to the rail garrison basing system. For more information on the campaign, write Rosemary Frazel, 1616 P St. NW, Washington, DC 20036, or call (202) 332-0900. *—David Lewis*



ABM REVIEW A BUST

THE UNITED STATES AND THE Soviet Union concluded their third review of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty sharply divided over compliance with the 1972 agreement. The review conference, required by the treaty every five years, was held in Geneva, Switzerland, in late August.

Rather than issuing the customary joint communiqué reaffirming their shared commitment to the treaty, U.S. and Soviet officials ended their confidential meetings with an exchange of accusations.

U.S. officials charged that the unfinished Large Phased-Array Radar (LPAR) near Krasnoyarsk constitutes "a significant violation of a central element of the ABM Treaty." Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director William F. Burns demanded that the Soviets dismantle the central Siberian radar immediately and said such action was a precondition for any future agreement on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (START) or the defense and space negotiations on the Strategic Defense Initiative and the ABM Treaty. Stopping short of declaring Krasnoyarsk a "material breach," which would give the United States legal grounds to terminate or suspend its obligations under the ABM Treaty, U.S. officials nevertheless threatened to make such a declaration.

Soviet arms control negotiator Victor P. Karpov questioned the United States' commitment to the treaty. "Perhaps someone would like to use the Krasnoyarsk radar as a pretext for withdrawing from the ABM Treaty," he suggested at a September 1 news conference. Karpov warned that U.S. withdrawal from the treaty would have serious repercussions for U.S.-Soviet relations.

The following day, the Soviet delegation chastised the United States for trying to reduce the entire review conference to a battle over Krasnoyarsk. While insisting that the radar is permitted under the treaty, the Soviet Union reiterated its earlier offer to dismantle the radar if the United States were to agree to adhere to the traditional interpretation of the ABM Treaty, which would not permit the deployment of "space-based" weapons. The Reagan administration dismissed such linkage as "unacceptable," arguing that the United States should not make concessions to the Soviets merely to get them to correct their violations.

Krasnoyarsk has long topped the Reagan administration's list of alleged Soviet treaty violations, since it is not located at a permitted ABM site—as required for ABM radar—or

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sited on the periphery of the Soviet Union and oriented outward—as required for an early warning radar. Some officials within the administration assert that Krasnoyarsk is a battle-management radar, capable of providing—in concert with other Soviet radars—the basis for an illegal nationwide defense. But CIA analysts say that the radar is unsuited for such a system.

The Soviets' claim Krasnoyarsk is designed to track objects in space, a function permitted by the treaty.

U.S. analysts outside government generally agree that Krasnoyarsk is an early warning radar, noting that it is essentially identical to other Soviet early warning radars, which are permitted by the treaty. Arms Control Association President Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr., observed that Krasnoyarsk is "a legal type of radar in an illegal location." He argues that the radar is not part of a nationwide ABM defense and poses no threat to U.S. security.

During the review conference, U.S. officials also charged that the movement of disassembled pieces of two Soviet radars from an ABM test range to the western Soviet city of Gomel constitutes an illegal "deployment." The Soviets claimed that U.S. LPARs at Thule, Greenland, and Fylingdales, England, violate the treaty.

Given the number of unresolved issues about radars, the Soviets proposed that both sides agree to: provide advance notification of plans to build LPARs and specify their purpose; determine ways to distinguish between ABM and other kinds of radars; work out procedures for the destruction of ABM radars at test ranges; and allow Soviet experts to inspect the U.S. radar at Thule, Greenland, and a U.S. launch site on Shemya Island to insure they are not part of an ABM system. U.S. officials did not respond favorably to these proposals.

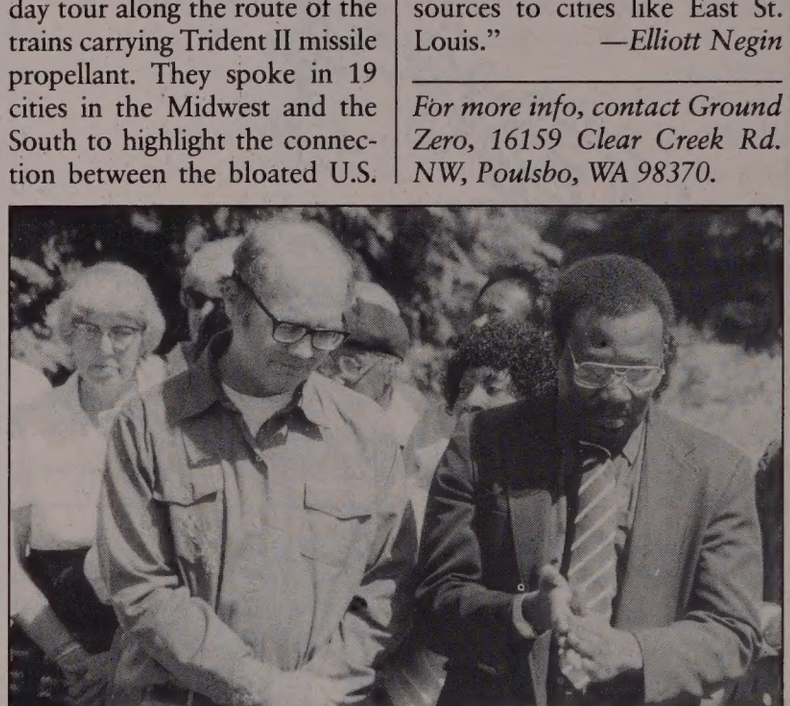
—Michèle A. Flournoy

STOP THAT TRAIN

THE REV. BUCK JONES, A ST. Louis civil rights leader, and Jim Douglass, a Seattle peace activist, recently went on 30-day tour along the route of the trains carrying Trident II missile propellant. They spoke in 19 cities in the Midwest and the South to highlight the connection between the bloated U.S. military budget and poverty. The tour was sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"If it takes $35 billion to produce the Trident II missile," said Jones, "America is not going to be able to provide resources to cities like East St. Louis." *—Elliott Negin*

For more info, contact Ground Zero, 16159 Clear Creek Rd. NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370.



Jim Douglass (left) and Rev. Buck Jones lead prayers at an East St. Louis, Illinois, railroad yard to begin their month-long pilgrimage.

SANE/ FREEZE SHAKEOUT

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS THAT dogged SANE/FREEZE since the merger of the two groups late last year finally came to a head. In early September, the 170,000-member organization was forced to adopt a number of belt-tightening measures to offset a $300,000 budget deficit. These included laying off about one-quarter of 40 staffers in the Washington, D.C., national office, giving the remaining staff a week off with no pay and cutting staff salaries by 20 percent.

David Cortright, former co-director and now development director, projects savings of up to $170,000 by the end of this year. Cortright and SANE/FREEZE President William Sloane Coffin hope to make up the rest of the deficit by calling on high-dollar donors to ante up $1,000 to $5,000 each.

SANE/FREEZE's financial woes sent a number of key staff members packing even before the September shakeout. Carolyn Cottom, former co-director, left to join former Pennsylvania Rep. Bob Edgar, who in July took over the reins at the Committee for National Security. And SANE/FREEZE's communications director, Bob Musil, became the director of the Professional's Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control.

SANE/FREEZE is not the only U.S. peace group having financial difficulties. The Coalition for a New Foreign Policy folded in late September. Other groups, such as the American Friends Service Committee, have been forced to cut back on their programs. *—E.N.*

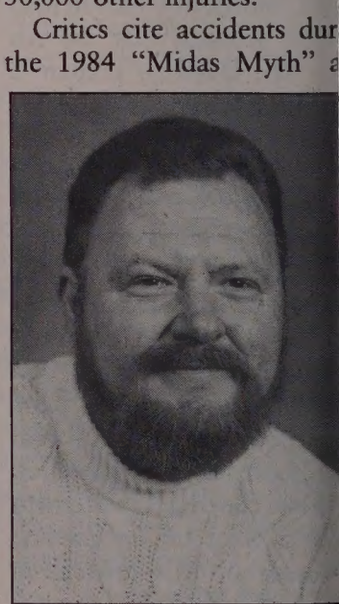
CRACKING UP AT THE TEST SITE

NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS the Nevada desert may be h ardous not only to world pea but also to the health and saf of people who live within h dreds of miles of the s Downwinders, a Salt Lake C based watchdog group, char that 30 years of undergrou blasts have cracked the up layer of one of the three t site locations, increasing possibility of accidental rac tion releases.

With the help of Democra Reps. Mike Lowry of Washi ton and Wayne Owens of Ut Downwinders has persuac the federal government to vestigate. In April, the Gen Accounting Office (GA agreed to look into two seri accidents at the Rainier M test site.

Downwinders, which h members in 40 communities Nevada, Utah and Arizona, long warned of health a safety problems with nucl weapons testing. Releases fr the site over several decac according to one medical pert, have likely caused m than 10,000 incidences of c cer, genetic defects and up 50,000 other injuries.

Critics cite accidents dur the 1984 "Midas Myth" a



Preston Truman of Downwinde

© PHOTO OF JONES AND DOUGLASS BY © RAFE MIDDEKE 1988

1986 "Mighty Oak" under-
ound tests as evidence of seri-
s structural defects. After the
das Myth blast, the ground
ove the Rainier Mesa caved
and formed a 17-foot crater,
ing one person and injuring
others working there. Two
rs later, the Mighty Oak test
ictured a concrete-encased
el door that served as an in-
nal shield, causing $32 mil-
n in radiation and heat dam-
e to experimental and
gnostic equipment.
A spokesman for the GAO,
ngress's investigative arm,
d *Nuclear Times* the probe
uld probably begin some-
e before the end of the year.
Both the Department of En-
y (DOE), which conducts
tests, and the Defense Nu-
ar Agency, which sets up the
ts, deny there are safety
blems at the mesa—a claim
t irritates the critics.
'We think there has been a
nsiderable cover-up of the
ects of the testing and the
nage to the mesa," says for-
r Democratic Sen. Frank
oss of Utah.
Moss and other critics note
t scientists in and out of gov-
ment say repeated under-
ound testing has fractured
inier Mesa's upper layer of
canic rock.
'They've broken the mesa all
," says Jack Evernden, a geo-
ysicist and seismologist with
U.S. Geological Survey.
ernden, an authority on un-
ground nuclear blasts, has
died the available data and
ncluded "the mesa should no
ger be used for testing."
Preston Truman, director of
wnwinders, agrees. "There
limit to how much you can
st that mountain apart," he
s. "The more tests, the more
idents there will be."
The 11-square-mile mesa is a
all section of the 1,350-
are-mile Nevada Test Site—
area larger than the state of
ode Island—located in Nye
unty, 65 miles northwest of
Vegas and due east of
ath Valley. The U.S. govern-
ment started testing nuclear weapons there in 1951, but all tests have been conducted underground since the 1963 U.S.-Soviet atmospheric test ban treaty. Current tests are conducted at three locations on the test site: Rainier Mesa, Pahute Mesa and Yucca Flat.

Rainier Mesa is especially important to the DOE because a tunnel complex in the mesa is the only place on the site used for "weapons-effects" tests—the testing of effects of nuclear blasts on complex military instrumentation and equipment. These include tests related to the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The government acknowledges conducting some 477 underground tests on the entire site since 1963, with more than 50 of these in Rainier Mesa.

But critics charge that the government's figures are low. The Natural Resources Defense Council reports 594 actual U.S. underground tests since 1963 and 699 overall. And Dr. Carl Johnson, until recently the medical officer for the South Dakota Department of Health, notes that at least 43 underground tests at various locations—including the Mighty Oak test—resulted in releases of radioactive gases and particulates into the atmosphere.

Johnson, an authority on the effects of radiation on populations, says these releases pose a health threat, especially to those "who live within several thousand kilometers downwind of the test site." He estimates that previous radiation releases may result in 10,000 to 20,000 cancers, perhaps half that many serious genetic defects and about 25,000 to 50,000 other injuries.

"Mighty Oak": $32 million worth of special equipment destroyed.

Truman says the government refuses to acknowledge mesa safety problems because they could force the DOE to find another location for the weapons-effects tests—a move likely to generate citizen and congressional opposition because of the expense and potential hazards involved.

U.S. government officials strongly dispute the critics' claims of hazards.

"We have no evidence that it would be unsafe to continue tests at Rainier Mesa for the forseeable future," says James Boyer, a DOE spokesman in Nevada. "If there are problems now and then . . . [they] are nothing compared with the cost and misery that could be inflicted on us . . . if we didn't have a strong defense."

—John Hanrahan

For more information, contact Downwinders, 966 East Wilson Ave., Salt Lake City, UT 84105, (801) 467-8215.

BLIPS . . .

HO, HO, HO To kick off the Christmas shopping season, the **New England War Resisters League** (WRL) is participating in the **International Days of Protest Against War Toys** on November 25 and 26. The fourth annual event will feature demonstrations at toy stores and toy manufacturers around the world. For info, call WRL at (203) 889-5337 or 455-9621.

Meanwhile, you can trade your kid's toy gun for a teddy bear, courtesy of the **Los Angeles Alliance for Survival** and the **Dakin Toy Company**. To make the trade, send a toy gun or any other war-related toy with $2 to cover return postage and handling to the alliance at 13 Sunset Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90291, (213) 399-1000.

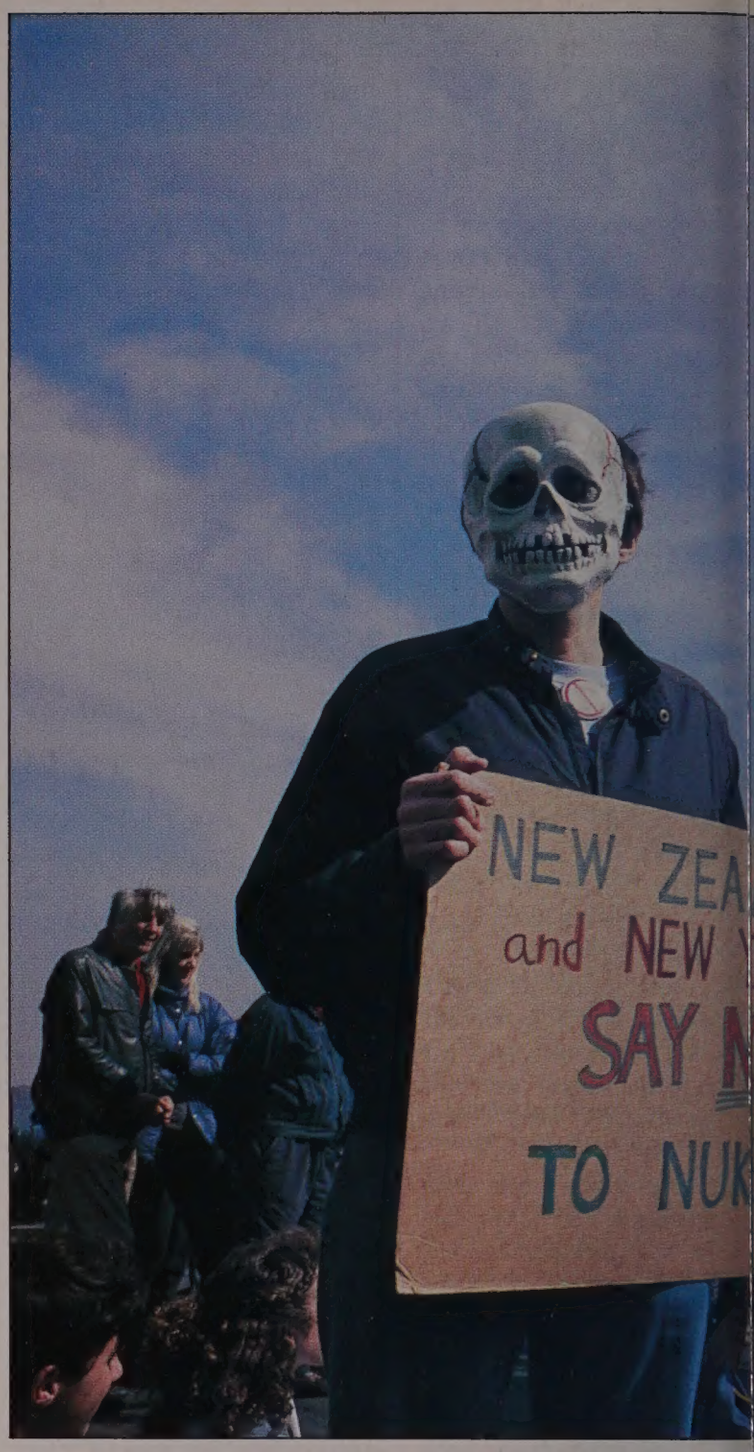
HAPPY 20TH The **Honeywell Project** celebrated its 20th birthday last October with a number of events, including an awards ceremony featuring **Grace Paley** and **Dave Dellinger**, and, of course, a demonstration at Honeywell's corporate headquarters. The project, which began in 1968 in response to Honeywell's production of cluster bombs, practices nonviolent civil disobedience to protest the production of both conventional and nuclear weapons. For more info, call (612) 339-3524.

MORE PALAUAN PROBLEMS Late last August, Palauan **President Lazarus Salii** was found shot to death in his home, victim of an apparent suicide. This was yet another blow to Palau, a Micronesian island group that is divided over a "nuclear-free zone" clause in its constitution. The United States, which still has trusteeship over the country, has been pressuring Palauans to drop their ban on nukes and grant the U.S. military access to nearly one-third of Palau in exchange for $450 million in economic aid. Palau will hold its 7th referendum on the nuke ban in November.

HARBORING DOUBTS

The U.S. Navy is planning new "home ports" for its nuclear capable fleet. Opponents are trying to take the wind out of its sails.

BY MIRANDA SPENCER



In the glare of winter light, Stapleton, Staten Island, is a desolate hamlet of dilapidated streets, humble houses, untidy used car lots, neighborhood taverns and pizza parlors. Beyond its low buildings rises a shimmering New York City skyline, accentuating the town's own air of diminished expectations. As tugs and tankers chug through the harbor, it is hard to imagine battleships moored here, or sailors swarming these sleepy streets.

But they will, if the U.S. Navy gets its way. Down a street lined with piles of fresh dirt, past three cranes jabbing at the sky, a sign proclaims the "Future Home of the U.S. Navy Battleship Surface Action Group." Slated for completion in 1989 is a "home port" here on Staten Island's north shore that will play host to the refurbished battleship USS Iowa, as well as a Navy cruiser, two frigates, three destroyers and 4,600 sailors.

But wait. Next to a chain-link fence bedecked with the same ribbon that protesters once tried to wrap around the Pentagon is a tiny podium with a bright blue banner flying overhead: "Liberty Not War, Keep Our Harbor Nuclear Free." A crowd of 250, from the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, gathers and watches as 15 of their ranks "take back the land."

A knot of policemen in navy blue uniforms looks on as the first young man climbs over the fence to applause and beating bongos. When all 15 have made it over, the protesters collectively dig up scoops of the dry earth using red paper cups, then carry some of the Department of Defense's (DOD) piece of Staten Island to the public side of the fence, where they slowly empty the cups into a huge glass vial. Fifteen minutes later, the police handcuff the p testers into a chain gang, pack them into a paddy wagon and c them off to St. George Courthouse, where they will be detain for five hours.

The target of this March 1988 action was the DOD's plan make Stapleton one of 14 new Navy bases around the coun part of an as-yet-unrealized but in-the-pipeline home-porting p gram that aspires to be one of the more visible legacies of t Reagan military buildup. The program has been in the works sin 1982, originally hatched by former Navy Secretary John Lehm So far, eight other U.S. cities have signed "memos of agreemer with the U.S. Navy for home ports: Everett, Washington; S Francisco; Mobile, Alabama; Pascagoula, Mississippi; La Charles, Louisiana; and Galveston and Ingleside, Texas. Oth sites, including one in Alaska, are still under study. Each city w give land and money to the Navy (in June, New York's Board Estimate voted to provide $10 million for Stapleton) in exchan for hoped-for spinoffs such as new jobs and increased demand local services. The federal government's own investment has be capped at $799 million, to be spent over five years.

Protesting the U.S. Navy's plans for a home port in Stapleton, Long Island.

To what end? The so-called Surface Action Group Home Port rategy is "a national initiative to disperse the fleet to different eas and to maintain a broad industrial base in the event of war," ys Lt. Cmdr. Patricia O'Neill, a Navy spokeswoman in Staten land. As it stands, the Navy has two main bases—Norfolk, Virnia, and San Diego—from which to maneuver. With more bases, e theory goes, its forces will be able to move more quickly in sponse to an emergency. As Ed Burke, press secretary to Staten land Republican Rep. Guy Molinari, puts it, "It's the old strategy never putting your eggs in one basket."

Not surprisingly, peace groups view the issue differently. The oalition for a Nuclear Free Harbor, which comprises 125 New ork groups—including Flatbush SANE, New York Public Interst Research Group (NYPIRG) and Vietnam Vets to Prevent orld War III—charges that the program is at best wasteful, at orst deadly. John Miller of NYPIRG sees the program as a atant example of military self-aggrandizement. "[The Navy] deded they needed 600 new ships," he says, "and to ensure they'd built, they needed to have a place to put them." Retired Adm. ugene Carroll, who once commanded the Sixth Fleet and is now deputy director of the Center for Defense Information (CDI) in Washington, D.C., calls the Navy's plan "home porking" and charges that a decentralized fleet is militarily unsound. "Today's ships don't fight as individuals like in the good old days of Errol Flynn," says Carroll, "they go out as battle groups . . . . All you've done is add 14 new targets. It's not a bit safer, it's just more expensive."

Like many opponents, Kathy Waters, program coordinator for New York Mobilization for Survival, sees purely political reasons behind home porting. "The Navy wants to lock Congress into huge budgets," she says. NYPIRG's Miller charges that the Navy has threatened to close extant bases altogether if host cities refuse to welcome new ones. Carroll thinks Congress is the only group that really wants home ports, as part of a "deal" to stimulate regional economies. "The Navy is being asked to spread out so everyone can get a share," he says.

In economically sluggish places like Stapleton, the Navy's promise of new jobs and extra income for participating cities excites local civic leaders. New York Mayor Ed Koch's office forecasts "well over a thousand" jobs; Staten Island Borough President Ralph Lamberti foresees "three to five thousand more people" (sailors plus families) to spend money on pizzas and other Stapleton amenities. Rep. Molinari's office predicts 1,838 jobs, $17 million in Navy purchases and $27 million in civilian earnings as eventual home port spinoffs.

But critics say that such figures are misleading. "One, two, three ships are not an economic boom," says Carroll. "Six months out of the year they're deployed, far removed from the home port." According to one of the Navy's own studies, only 40 percent of a sailor's disposable income is spent in the home port region.

Many even predict negative impacts: blocked-off roads, schools overcrowded by sailors' children, Navy spouses taking jobs away from locals. And housing is a major issue: the Navy is not exactly sure where to put its personnel. Many citizens are outraged at proposals to build new housing for the Navy while many native New Yorkers wander homeless.

Whatever the fiscal or political impetus to home porting, its ultimate purpose is militaristic. Yet civic leaders who tout the program see nothing wrong with that. "The city is not a separate country," says Robert McGrath, a spokesman for Koch. "We

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The Navy shows off the USS Iowa in New York Harbor: How safe could it be?

628 nuclear "incidents of minor conce since 1967—such as flat tires on mis carriers—but only two full-fledged "a dents," one of which was a missile los sea after falling off an aircraft carrier; second remains classified. Mayor K prefers to defer to specialists on this is his spokesman assures that "experts, cluding the GAO, have concluded that danger of a nuclear accident is almost r

But critics have their doubts. "I pers ally witnessed an accident that was n classified as an accident," says CDI's roll, describing an incident aboard a N aircraft carrier during which fire engulfe plane carrying a nuclear weapon. While danger of a nuclear explosion in such a is remote, Carroll says the release of ra active material is a very real concern: " could have a major cleanup problem your hands."

On the face of it, as members of coalition say, placing cruise missiles in New York Harbor is aki deploying the MX in Central Park. "I don't like the idea of hav nuclear weapons close by," says Toby Lenahan, a newcome Staten Island who attended, but did not join, the March disobedience action. "There's a lot of dangers involved, and not comfortable with it," she says, adding, "If I wasn't six mor pregnant, I might do C.D."

believe we must do our share for national defense."

But some activists are worried that a more sinister scenario is in the making. A larger, more dispersed Navy, some say, can more easily intervene in regional conflicts. Others point out that nuclear-capable ships docked in cities make host citizens more vulnerable to nuclear attack. Simeon Sahaydachne, a former attorney for the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, writes in his book *Nuclear Trojan Horse*: "Under strategic dispersal, our nation's most densely populated metropolitan [areas] acquire a military target value that Soviet cities do not have."

For most opponents, the likely presence of nuclear weapons on home-ported ships is the most nettling issue. The Navy refuses to say whether or not a given ship is carrying them at any time. In public hearings and impact studies, the Navy has used its privilege of secrecy as a way to skirt community concerns about potential accidents.

But both evidence and logic suggest that home-ported ships *will* bear nuclear arms. Andrew Lichterman, litigation director for the Western States Legal Foundation (an anti-home-port group in San Francisco), observes, "If you have to take these ships somewhere else [to pick up nuclear weapons] before you can use them, what happens to rapid deployment?"

The government itself indirectly confirms this. A 1987 General Accounting Office (GAO) report, "Nuclear Weapons: Emergency Preparedness Planning for Accidents" addresses the home-porting program, thereby implying it is a potential source of nuclear-weapon accidents. Moreover, it suggests that officials at Navy home ports should cooperate with state and local officials in emergency planning for such accidents.

Last year, New York Democratic Rep. Ted Weiss went to court in an unsuccessful attempt to force the disclosure of another GAO report, which remains classified. Weiss, who has read the secret report but cannot reveal its contents, has said it contains "information of the utmost gravity" for the nukes-on-ships issue.

The evidence is nearly overwhelming that home porting will mean nukes in harbors around the country. But local and federal government supporters of the program are as sanguine about that prospect as peace activists are terrified. They seem confident in the Navy's claim of an impeccable safety record: "In 30 years of deploying," reads the official Navy statement on the subject, "no circumstance resulted in any hazard to the public, civilian property, the environment, or Navy personnel." The Navy acknowledges

Fear of nukes, economic strain, even minutiae such as lack proper dredging permits, are all weaknesses that opponents home porting have exploited. They have filled their ranks v activists from a variety of groups and related causes, from "s Trident" and "end interventionism" to "jobs with peace" "save the wetlands."

One of the earliest steps in the Stapleton harbor fight ne sunk the Iowa's new home. It was a 1985 ballot measure ask New Yorkers to vote for or against allocation of city funds land for nuclear-capable facilities. Coalition member Tom Luca, now with New York SANE/FREEZE and a prominent op nent of the home port since its inception, wrote the referend and coordinated the collection of 102,000 signatures for the m sure. During the petition drive, New York peace activists beca media stars: De Luca and others debated advocates of ho porting on radio and television talk shows—including *Donahu* bringing the issue into millions of homes.

De Luca views the referendum drive as the coalition's moment. "It had a 10-point lead in the polls," he says, "We wo have won. Common sense and democracy was on our side." the measure never came to a vote. Koch dispatched his lawyers local court, which ruled the referendum unconstitutional grounds that federal law pre-empts local ordinances. Jim Lan member of the Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Con (LANAC) and an attorney in the case, appealed, arguing that " can't decide constitutionality before a referendum is passed." case then landed in the New York Supreme Court, which in t axed the referendum, this time on the basis of an obscure 1 ruling involving parade grounds, which determined that city l cannot restrict the transfer of land to the federal government. high court further ruled that citizens could not even vote on money question, because, the judges decided, this would be " confusing" for the public to understand.

With this setback in the electoral arena, home-porting op

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nts have subsequently turned to the urts on their own, bringing lawsuits di-ctly against the Navy. With help from orneys from organizations such as NAC, opponents have attacked the vy for flouting federal environmental licies. "The Navy doesn't care whether not what they are doing is legal, they just ahead and do it," says Jim Lane.

In October 1986, the Hudson River oop Clearwater, the Sierra Club and ner environmental groups filed a federal vsuit charging the Navy with violating e National Environmental Policy Act EPA). The Navy, they said, had failed to nsider a nuclear-accident scenario in its quired Environmental Impact Statement S). Therefore, they argued, home port nstruction should be halted until such a dy was made.

The nuclear weapons part of the suit was missed, however, based on a precedent tablished in 1981, when Hawaiian peace activists sued for the sults of an EIS on nuclear storage facilities near their homes. In at case, the court ruled that an EIS, while mandatory, can be ssified for national security reasons. Home-porting opponents d have one victory in the NEPA case: the court found that the vy had failed to comply with NEPA regarding its housing ns—but it ruled that home port construction could go on vertheless.

Another case, *Flax v. Ash*, is pending. In it, home port oppo-nts charge that the Navy failed to submit housing plans ensuring e safety of Staten Island wetlands when it successfully petitioned e New York Department of Environmental Conservation for a ter quality certificate.

Jim Lane says he is pessimistic about the prospects for stopping me porting through lawsuits. Yet the suits have succeeded in lling projects and, equally important, in raising public aware-ss. "One of the most interesting things about the home-porting ue has been the extent to which it's forced people to recognize e connection between peace and environmental groups," says drew Lichterman.

Some opponents have preferred to focus their efforts on law-*kers* rather than lawsuits, and have lobbied members of Con-ss on the home-porting issue. De Luca, of New York SANE/EEZE, observes that "there was always tremendous ambivalence Congress," and that exploiting that ambivalence has met with derate success.

In July 1986, Rep. Dennis Hertel (D-Mich.) sponsored an endment to the annual military construction appropriations bill leting funds for the home port program. De Luca and other w Yorkers rushed to Washington to lobby their representatives d others from planned home port sites. The activists succeeded swaying seven of their 13 representatives to support of the endment, so that an eight-person majority of their delegation me out against home porting. The amendment passed the house 50 votes. The victory, however, was later overturned. The Navy patched its own lobby—"a fleet of admirals," as De Luca de-ibes it—and Congress reinstated the money. The Navy won yet other round.

ny activists have felt growing frustration as their electoral and al options have been exhausted, and some have joined with gtime advocates of civil disobedience, taking their campaign beyond the boundaries of the law. As Kathy Waters of Mobilization for Survival observes, "It makes sense to use different tacks at different times."

> *'All you've done is add 14 new targets. It's not safer, just more expensive.' Admiral Eugene Carroll*

Protesters first descended en masse upon Staten Island in March 1987, erecting a Statue of Liberty replica and planting a sapling on the home port site. Four months later, after dredging had begun, activists paddled into Stapleton harbor in canoes. They succeeded in halting work for a few hours by scaling construction cranes and handcuffing themselves to a fence around a pen of bulldozing equipment. Last December, protesters again trespassed on the site, draping the Navy's "Future Home" sign with a banner declaring the spot a nuclear-free zone. In March, 15 activists went over the fence. And on August 9, Nagasaki Day, 20 demonstrators stopped construction during an attempt to place a no-nukes banner on a building skeleton.

Arrests were made in each action. Last May, the "Stapleton 38"—a diverse group from around New York's five boroughs who participated in the July 1987 action—went on trial. Attorneys from the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy argued that their clients' civil disobedience was necessary to stop the greater crime of nuclear war. The judge dismissed charges against all but eight of the group for lack of evidence; the remaining eight were convicted and sentenced to terms of 25 to 200 hours of community service.

Many home port opponents now feel they have no choice but to proceed with civil disobedience. "It's a way of putting pressure to bear on people in the community who are responsible for asking that [a home port] be put here . . . instead of just letting it happen," says Tina Freeman, who went over the fence in the July 1987 action. Diana Yates, a Staten Island resident and coordinator of civil disobedience for the coalition, believes the media coverage generated by civil disobedience helps the anti-home-port campaign reach the "average citizen," who may be concerned but not politically active. "When you break the law," says Freeman, "you are making a very powerful statement."

Educating the public remains key in the battle against home porting. And a recent effort by the coalition has succeeded in giving New Yorkers a lesson in what could happen if they allow the establishment of a nuclear harbor. For years, the coalition has urged the New York City Board of Estimate to prepare an impact statement on the nuclear safety issues of home porting. In October 1987, with the prodding of opposition allies, including City Controller Harrison Goldin, Manhattan Borough President David Dinkins, and City Council President Andrew Stein, the board agreed, resolving to study the likelihood and potential impact of a nuclear weapons accident at Stapleton, and to prepare an emergency evacuation plan.

Buoyed by the resolution, but not satisfied, the coalition contracted its own study carried out by experts Dr. Victor Sidel, of the American Public Health Association and former president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, and physicist Michio Kaku, among others.

Both studies were published last April Fools' Day. Predictably, the city and coalition versions differed drastically. The coalition's study—which, like the city study, presumed a most-likely-accident scenario of one warhead burning for three hours—concluded that a nuclear accident releasing plutonium at the Staten Island site

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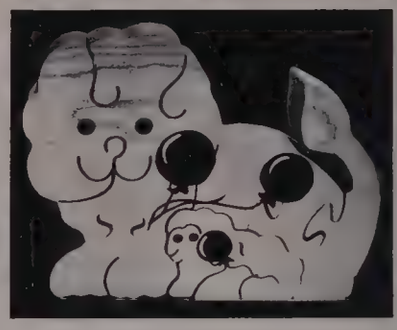

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ɔuld cause more than 30,000 cancer aths and birth defects. It also concluded at evacuation and decontamination of ew York City would be impossible and at the Big Apple's financial core would devoured.

The city's report, on the other hand, sug- sted that contamination would spread ly about 2,000 feet, requiring a mere lf-mile emergency planning zone. In the ent that wind should carry radioactivity yond that zone, the study advised Staten anders to protect themselves with hand- rchiefs held to their noses. But anyway, e city study concluded, the possibility of nuclear accident at Stapleton would be t or near zero."

Complaints, including a letter to Koch ɔm City Controller Goldin, prompted the y to produce a second draft of the study. ıe latter version concedes that handker- iefs might not do the job. But its contin- d definition of a limited emergency plan- ng zone has now been criticized by ighboring Brooklyn's Borough President oward Golden, who has cited the coali- ɔn-commissioned study as a point of ref- ence in his critique.

Whether the studies will prove pivotal to e home-porting debate is unclear, but the avy will now be hard pressed to scuttle e nuclear issues altogether. Up to now, e Navy seems happily convinced it can- ɔt be stopped. "We have followed due ocess of government," says Navy spokes- oman O'Neill. "At every vote we have en voted in. We take that as a mandate, ɔt just an invitation."

Opponents see the task ahead as stop- ng the momentum home porting has al- ady achieved. On that count, Kathy Wa- rs remains encouraged. By causing "delay ter delay," she says, the coalition has at ast succeeded in keeping the Navy from ving its way. "The ships should have en there by now."

Adm. Carroll of CDI thinks the progress ready made bodes well: "I think ulti- ately we won't send ships there. The re- stance is tremendous."

But for most activists, the home port ttle seems to be one of those uphill strug- es that, no matter the prospects, still has be fought with perseverence and opti- ism. "You have to live with constantly eling like you're failing," says Diana tes, "But it's important to see how much ogress we've made." □

iranda Spencer is a writer living in nu- ear-free Hoboken, New Jersey. For more formation, write the Coalition for a Nu- ear Free Harbor, 135 West 4th St., New ork, NY 10012, (212) 226-7161.

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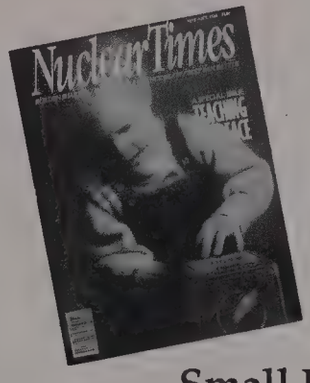

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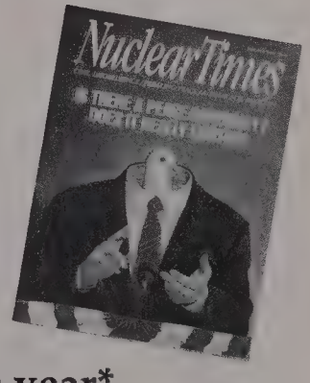

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PEACE AND FREEDOM

The dawn of glasnost and perestroika has opened up Soviet and Eastern European societies to the Western concept of human rights. Should Western peace activists now press for human rights as aggressively as they advocate disarmament?

BY GEORGE PERKOVICH

It was the day after the superpower summit, and Mikhail Gorbachev was visibly irritated. A day earlier, Ronald Reagan had given the general secretary a tongue-lashing on human rights. But now Gorbachev found himself before a more sympathetic audience: a group of American and West European peace activists assembled by the Soviet Peace Committee for a meeting with the top Soviet leader.

Gorbachev's voice resounded through the ornate Kremlin hall as he defended his country's human rights practices and accused the United States of whitewashing its own problems. His "you-mind-your-own-business, we'll-mind-ours" speech was interrupted repeatedly, as *Pravda* reported, by "stormy applause."

When he had finished, some two-dozen Western peace activists lined up at microphones, and one by one, praised Gorbachev for his reform efforts and leadership on peace issues.

Most notable was a speech by SANE/FREEZE President William Sloane Coffin, who echoed the Soviet leader on the lack of human rights in the United States. "Hundreds of thousands of Americans," he said, "can hardly be called free who are hungry and who have no homes."

Whatever the nuances of Coffin's or other Western activists' thoughts on disarmament and human rights, their presence and their outspoken enthusiasm for the new Soviet leadership's policies were warmly received by Moscow officialdom. The Soviets want Americans to recognize economic rights as central to human rights, and to acknowledge Soviet improvements on political rights. Better yet, they would like Americans to drop the haughty tone that often pervades human rights discussions. The Western activists gave them what they wanted.

Back in the United States, however, the press was not so kind. *The Washington Post* reported the peace-committee-sponsored event under the headline: "U.S. Peaceniks Join Kremlin's Counteroffensive on Human Rights." *Post* correspondent Michael Dobbs painted the Americans in shades of red: "The Soviet Peace Committee unfolded its red carpet today for the American heroes of the Kremlin's propaganda counteroffensive against President Reagan." Readers were left with grave doubts about the integrity of the U.S. and European "peaceniks."

This Moscow event, and the press it generated, highlights dilemmas U.S. activists face when they promote peace with a government that violates the human rights of its citizens and continues to exert military control over neighboring states. Does peace activism mean more than seeking disarmament? Does it require aggressive campaigning for human rights as well? How can activists press for human rights without getting caught in the Cold War?

U.S. peace groups answer these questions in different ways. Some argue it is important to promote peace and human rights simultaneously. Others maintain that work on peace issues should come first, and human rights work can follow. The outcome of the debate will depend on the course of U.S.-Soviet relations and the ongoing bilateral dialog on human rights.

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For its part, the Soviet Union, until
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Human rights and arms control bec
wedded in people's minds in the e
1970s, when U.S. opponents of detente
manded Soviet human rights concessior
exchange for American commitments
nuclear arms control. The Soviets
sponded that arms control should not
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the Helsinki Accords, which were signe
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The Helsinki Accords gave each sid
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However, the Kremlin did not bar
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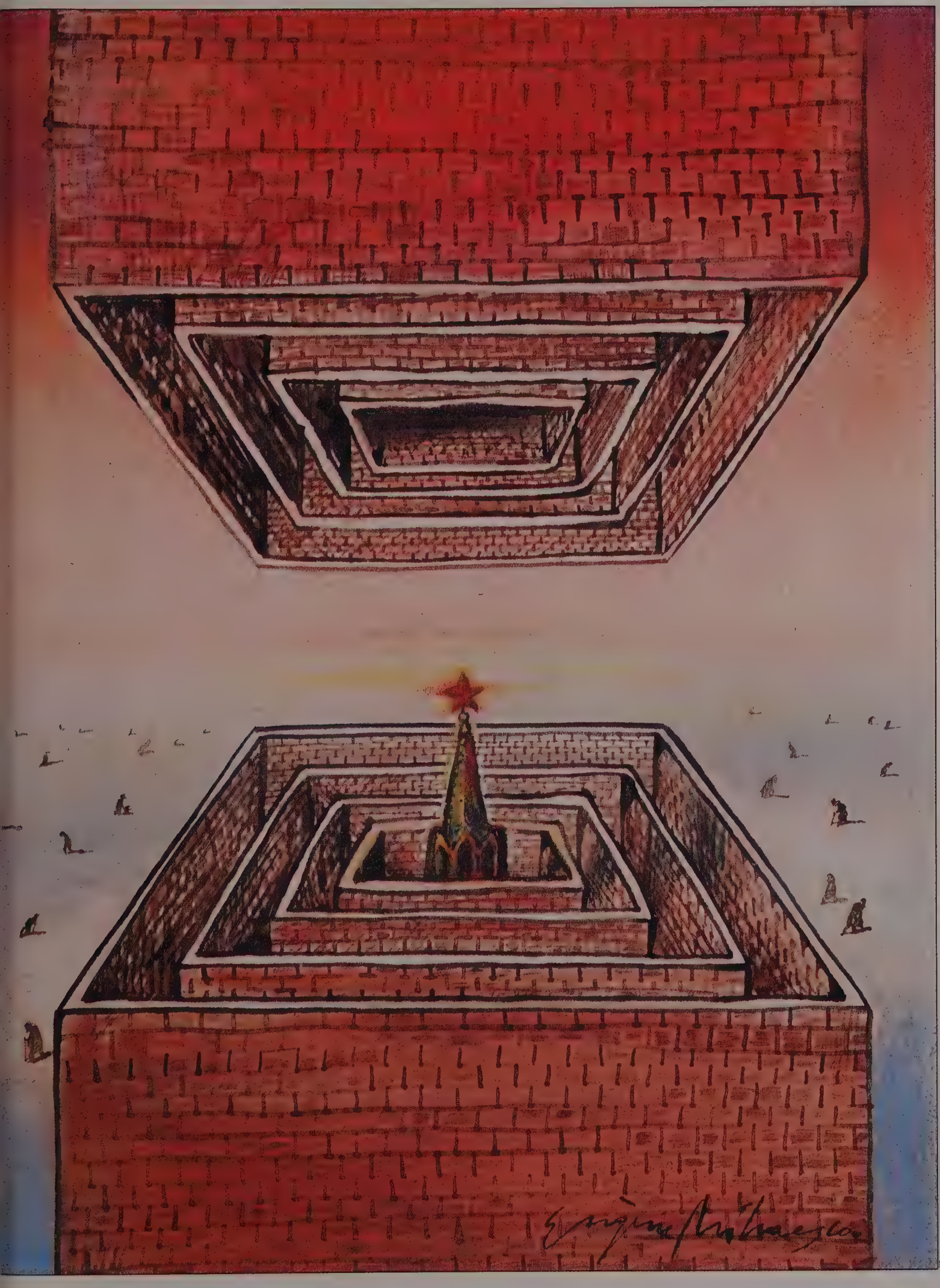
The fate of Eastern human rights ac



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ists became a major issue in superpower relations in the late 1970s. The more President Jimmy Carter trumpeted human rights, the more the Soviet government tightened its control over dissidents, sending many to jail or exile. By 1979, human rights activists in much of Eastern Europe were routed. SALT II died in the United States, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan and detente gave way to confrontation.

Recently, however, the human rights movement has revived in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and some groups have adopted a broad agenda that includes calls for arms reductions. Emboldened by Solidarity in Poland and *glasnost* in the Soviet Union—and encouraged by contacts with Western peace groups—the Moscow Trust Group, Poland's Freedom and Peace Movement, Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity, and Charter 77 are working to create a common Eastern European outlook on human rights and security.

In the Moscow Trust Group's words, "It is impossible to speak about peace without also discussing human rights issues. It is unacceptable to be involved with the struggle for human rights while relegating to second place the problem of peace."

The relationship between security and human rights is fundamental to the Helsinki Accords and to the new wave of activism in the East. In a memorandum released in late 1986, *Giving Real Life to the Helsinki Accords*, dozens of Eastern and Western activists agreed: "A lasting peace can only be obtained by overcoming the various political, economic and social causes of aggression and violence in international relations as well as in the internal affairs of states. A comprehensive democratization of states and societies would create conditions favorable to this aim."

Choosing Tactics

Most U.S. and European peace activists reject the notion of holding arms control hostage to human rights concessions. "I'm for disarmament measures without human rights preconditions," says Joanne Landy. As director of the Campaign for Peace and Democracy East and West, Landy is one of the few American activists with strong ties to the Eastern European human rights movement. She believes that progress in one area—human rights or arms reductions—can clear the way for gains in the other. "A comprehensive peace policy by the U.S.—including no support of dictators, no nuclear weapons, troop withdrawals—is the kind of policy that would best promote human rights in the East," says Landy. "It would rob the Soviet and East bloc governments of one of their major justifications for controlling their populations: the security threat from the West."

Few U.S. peace and arms control organizations, however, join Landy in making human rights part of their public agenda. "The issue we address is nuclear arms control, period," says Chip Reynolds, national director of Freeze Voter. Other peace movement organizations—such as Physicians for Social Responsibility, Council for A Livable World, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, and the Union of Concerned Scientists—largely ignore human rights in their literature and in their principal activities. Members of these organizations may be personally committed to human rights, and they may press the issue in meetings with Soviet officials or counterparts, but in practice they stick to arms control and disarmament.

Individuals and groups that do handle the explosive issue of human rights differ strongly on tactics. Some argue for working with Soviet officials; others say close alignment with dissidents is the best way to promote progress. Some say quiet diplomacy achieves more; others say protests are necessary. For the peace movement, the challenge is to promote human rights while at the same time ending the Cold War.

SANE/FREEZE and the SPC

This challenge is difficult when the Soviet Peace Committee is involved. The SPC parrots the positions of the Soviet government. Over the years it has done nothing to oppose Soviet military deployments in Eastern Europe or the invasion of Afghanistan. Isn't it then unseemly for U.S. peace activists to cooperate with the peace committee? Doesn't association with the SPC weaken activists' credibility at home?

Divisions within the peace movement emerged following the Moscow summit when SANE/FREEZE and the SPC announced the formation of the Joint Working Commission on Peace and Human Rights. Critics, who distrust the SPC's motives and integrity, charge that SANE/FREEZE lacks the expertise and determination to push breakthroughs in human rights and could be used by the SPC to give a Western stamp of approval to current Soviet practices.

The Soviet Peace Committee, which was founded under Stalin's auspices in 1947, is formally a non-governmental organization. Citizens and institutions contribute funds to the committee, which organizes peace rallies and hosts foreign visitors.

The SPC has always toed the party line. It is a "fact," SPC President Genrikh Borovik volunteered in an interview with *Nuclear Times*, "that the Soviet Peace Committee never criticized the governme in former years." The invasions of Hung in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, t invasion of Afghanistan, and the Soviet r in the arms race all went unchallenged.

The subservience of the Eastern pea committees to their governments l prompted many Western activists to avo close contact with them. Joanne Landy l argued with European Nuclear Disarm ment (END) that official peace committe should not be allowed to become form END members. (In 1987, END forma recognized the official Hungarian pea committee as a member.) And regardi joint ventures with the Soviet Peace Co mittee, she says, "If we accept an ers movement as a real one, which is wh we're being asked to do by having count part meetings with these people, we a accepting a whole realm of assumptio about the legitimacy of denying indepe dent groups the right to exist. If we have come right out and said, 'You're not [independent group], and we think the should be some,' then we've colluded w a system that denies pluralism."

Yet many American activists say th when it comes to the Soviet Union, th have little choice but to deal with the S viet Peace Committee. In pre-*glasn* days, the Soviet Union prohibited the f mation of independent organizations, a U.S.-Soviet exchanges were tightly co trolled. Groups that wanted to promo face-to-face exchanges, such as Promoti Enduring Peace, the Friendship Force, t Citizen Exchange Council, the Fellowsh of Reconciliation and SANE, felt co pelled to work with the SPC.

"Look at the alternatives," says Willi Sloane Coffin. "If you don't work with t peace committee, what's an organizati like SANE/FREEZE going to do? If you s you want to talk to veterans returning fr Afghanistan you can hardly go over the on your own. The SPC is the group tha set up to do these things."

At its board meeting in May, Richa Healey, a SANE/FREEZE board memb and executive director of *Nuclear Tim* argued that the board should not appro the creation of a joint commission with t SPC. "The SPC is controlled by the co munist party and the Soviet governme which violates human rights in the Sov Union, Eastern Europe and Afghanistan Healey said. While it might be possible work with the SPC on specific projects, joint commission would "equate our ind pendent work on human rights with t work they do, or don't do."

David Cortright, director of develo ment at SANE/FREEZE, defends the joi

DEADLINE

A Bulletin From the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media

OVEMBER/DECEMBER 1988 VOLUME III, NO. 6

Coverage of the Pentagon Scandal

Letting the Justice Department Off the Hook . . . Again

By Richard F Kaufman

For both the government and the press, past appears to be prologue in the current Pentagon fraud and bribery investigation, code-named "Ill Wind." So far, the patterns of earlier probes of corruption in defense contracting are evident in this case as the Justice Department is once again mishandling a key defense-fraud investigation, and most reporters, sidetracked by other, less important angles to the story, have failed to report on the government's lack of aggressiveness and seeming ineptitude in prosecuting the case.

Although many news organizations did a reasonably good job reporting the details of the FBI surveillance that led to the issuing of thirty-six search warrants on June 14, the rise in importance of private consultants in defense procurement, and the weapons programs that may have been tainted by the scandal, few have discussed the Justice Department's poor handling of the investigation. In fact, only the most careful followers of the news would have realized that for all of the tub-thumping and finger-pointing by law enforcement officials, in five months no defense contractor or consultant has been arrested or indicted.

The poor results of the GTE corruption case, which made headlines in late 1985, should have alerted reporters to the continuing problems that the Justice Department has in prosecuting defense fraud cases. GTE, currently the nation's nineteenth largest defense contractor, was indicted along with two of its employees and a private consultant for illegally obtaining classified documents and conspiring to subvert the Pentagon's procurement process. The company pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy to defraud the Defense Department, and, on the face of it, the case appeared to have been a success for the government. The Justice Department trumpeted the GTE conviction as a major victory, and newspapers reported it that way. But defense community insiders saw it differently. GTE's penalty was a fine of only $590,000, agreed to in a plea bargain—not much, considering that the company was awarded $1.4 billion in prime contracts in FY 1986, when the plea bargain was agreed to. In addition, in return for offering a guilty plea, the company was permitted to continue bidding on new defense contracts. What is more, no high-ranking officials were indicted. The government, stymied by the tactics of defense lawyers, eventually dropped charges against the two middle-level employees who were indicted. What now remains of the three-year-old case against the private consultant who was charged is mired in an appeal based on a preliminary order issued against the government because prosecutors failed to meet a court deadline.

In addition, soon after the guilty plea in 1985, Robert Segal, formerly of the Defense Criminal Investigative Service, revealed at a hearing of a Senate Judiciary subcommittee that investigators who covered the conspiracy were barred by federal officials from expanding their probe to include a number of other defense firms they believed had engaged in similar activities. In fact, a number of officials have said that the corruption uncovered in Ill Wind could have become known much sooner if the GTE investigation had not been cut short.

Press coverage of the botched, and some would say timid, investigation was scanty after the splash of GTE's guilty plea. The lengthy delays in the case and the missed court deadline by government attorneys were not reported at the time. The dropping of charges against the two employees in March 1988 was barely mentioned in newspapers. And the fact that officials were told to limit their investigations was forgotten until the Ill Wind story broke.

Missing Ill Wind's Drift

To date, press coverage of Ill Wind has been much more extensive and in many respects better than the reporting of the GTE investigation. But there are similarities in the disappointing nature of the coverage of the two investigations. In particular, journalists covering the current round of procurement fraud once again failed to focus on the two key aspects of the scandal: the persistence of criminality in defense contracting and the inability of the legal system to competently prosecute those charged with breaking the law.

Actual reporting about the details of the Ill Wind investigation, for the most part fed to journalists by the government, has been exhaustive, capturing the front pages of national newspapers from June 15 through the end of July, when press interest in the issue faded. These breaking news stories were followed by innumerable profiles of just about every present and former Pentagon official, consultant, defense firm, company representa-

Inside: CBS's Wyatt Andrews—Back from the USSR

tive, prosecutor, and defense attorney named in the probe or by any source with knowledge of it. And, although no members of Congress were said to be targets of the investigation, several were rumored to be, and they too were subjects of profiles and backgrounders.

In addition to these profiles, speculative articles about the possible causes of the scandal and the problems in defense procurement generally, and news analyses offering possible remedies for the waste, fraud, and abuse proliferated. One of the best of this genre was a June 17 report by Justice Department reporter Ronald J. Ostrow and defense writer John M. Broder of the *Los Angeles Times*, which only three days after the Ill Wind story broke described how former Navy secretary John Lehman had dismantled the old-line Navy bureaucracy that used to oversee contracts, and centralized authority in his office. Ostrow and Broder were among the first reporters to consider the criticism that Lehman's reorganization may have eliminated checks and balances on the Navy contracts bureaucracy, making it easier for a former insider like Melvin Paisley, the consultant reported to be targeted by the investigation, to gain access to sensitive information and steer contracts to clients.

Another fine takeout was offered by John H. Cushman, Pentagon correspondent for *The New York Times*. In a June 20 news story, Cushman reflected on what the scandal suggested about the changes in procurement made in recent years. Cushman wrote that the newly alleged trafficking in sensitive information called into question the effectiveness of reforms adopted in 1985 by the Packard Commission on Defense Management.

Overall, the editorial strategy of news organizations in covering Ill Wind seemed to be saturation bombing, with the big-gun Pentagon correspondents (and in some cases Justice Department reporters) leading the way, reinforced by reserve armies of reporters called in from other beats. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, deployed twenty reporters and six editors from the national, metro, and financial desks to cover the story as it unfolded in Washington and at defense firms on the West Coast.

But the barrage of reporting, well intentioned as it may have been, has had the effect of letting the Justice Department off the hook. Press coverage was diffused, kaleidoscopic, and mostly beside the point of the criminal investigation, diverting attention from the weaknesses of law enforcement in general, and the questionable conduct of the Ill Wind investigation in particular. From the Justice Department's perspective this could only be a desirable development, as the credibility of Justice has been harmed by charges of incompetence and bungling in previous defense contract fraud cases.

A few exceptional reports did focus on the subjects of corruption in defense contracting and the conduct of

(continued on page 9)

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Dilemma for National Security Reporters:

Is Anybody Listening?

By Jay Rosen

In June 1979 a CBS/*New York Times* poll found that only 30 percent of Americans could name the two nations involved in the SALT II strategic arms limitation talks. The negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union had been a front-page story for years, and the two countries were about to sign an agreement in Vienna. Yet the coverage failed to produce even negligible levels of public understanding.

What did it mean? Were Americans incapable of grasping what SALT II was all about? Were citizens too cynical to care about the talks, believing that the arms competition was out of control and that negotiations could never achieve anything?

Whichever way it is viewed, massive ignorance about an important and widely publicized issue leads to questions about the meaning of public opinion, the nature of our political system, and the effectiveness of the press. (For a discussion of public ignorance on nuclear issues, see "Public Knowledge/Private Ignorance," *Deadline*, January/February 1987.) But such questions rarely arise. The findings about SALT II produced no sense of crisis in the polity during the summer of 1979, no agonized calls for a reexamination of the democratic ideal, no *mea culpas* from the press or warnings from pollsters, and, needless to say, no outcry from the public lamenting its own lack of knowledge.

This silence is the sign of a lost discourse, an abandoned way of thinking and talking about the public as a democratic institution. What is a public, really? Under what conditions does it flourish? Is it possible for the public to disappear? What is public opinion? Can it be equated with the results of polls? Can there be a democracy without a public?

When the public comes under examination today, these are not the usual questions. Most observers assume they understand what the public is; believing they know what it is, they attempt to discover what its opinions are on this or that question. They may argue about what those opinions mean, but that there *is* a public and that it *has* opinions is generally taken for granted. There is no context in which widespread ignorance of the simplest facts seems like an event worth discussing. Today, with pollsters cranking out data week by week, the answer seems obvious: Public opinion is the numbers that show up in the polls. Certain problems with those numbers are well known; depending on the wording of a question, for example, the polls can be made to say different things.

Suppose, however, that the real problem is not with polling methodology, but with the assumption that there is something to measure. It is possible that what the polls actually indicate is the need to speak about the public—or, rather, to make it speak for itself. The press, pollsters, academics who study the polls, and everyone else who refers to the public as a living, thinking, speaking thing help paper over the doubts that might otherwise exist about what a public is, and whether it exists.

Remove the polls and certain problems with this assumption become clearer. Public ignorance is only one of them. Voter turnout in the United States is among the lowest in the world. In the 1986 congressional election, almost two-thirds of those eligible declined to vote. In presidential elections, the trend has been generally downward, from 63 percent of those eligible in 1960 to 53 percent in 1984. What do we call the half of the eligible voting population that refuses to participate in elections? In what sense does it form part of a public?

In December 1987 *The New York Times* reviewed the economic platforms of all the candidates for the 1988 Democratic and Republican nominations. It found that only one candidate—Bruce Babbitt—was willing to propose a package of measures that would significantly trim the federal deficit. The rest, the *Times* speculated, had learned the lesson of Walter Mondale in 1984: Serious proposals to reduce the deficit are politically impossible. If the *Times* was correct in its judgment, then it is hard to blame the candidates for skirting the issue. For the political system as a whole is not functioning in such a way as to permit proposals of rational policies.

> A public realm that cannot produce for citizens even an acquaintance with the president's positions on nuclear issues has broken down completely.

On some issues, at least, it appears that there is no functioning public realm in America—no national forum in which leaders can talk seriously about problems they themselves see as serious. If a pressing public issue like the deficit is, in fact, unspeakable, that is a sign that the public realm has stopped functioning. A kind of censorship has occurred, but it has nothing to do with government intimidation. It is the problem itself that intimidates, making serious proposals to solve it politically unwise.

Can there be a public without a public realm? The question need not arise, because elections can be won and decisions can be made regardless of the quality of debate. Politics can continue as long as politicians appear to have support. As Garry Wills has said of Ronald Reagan's "Star Wars" antimissile proposal: "Others have the arguments, but Reagan has the audience."

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When arguments do not find an audience, we are accustomed to concluding that they have somehow failed. But Wills has suggested a different possibility: that a politician's skill at finding an audience can make all arguments—his and his opponents'—irrelevant. A public realm of this sort, in which coherent arguments do not matter, has lost its function, which is not only to protect the free interplay of ideas but also to connect them logically to the choices a society must make.

The Public and Nuclear Weapons

The most obvious way in which nuclear weapons contribute to the problem of the diminished democratic public is through the secrecy that surrounds the entire nuclear enterprise. It is not only the fact of secrecy that is significant, but the acceptance of that fact. There has never been a serious political challenge in the U.S. to the assumption that nuclear policy is something that is largely decided outside the public realm. From the Manhattan Project onward, a handful of technical experts, military men, and high government officials have settled the important questions themselves.

The secrecy did not end with the Manhattan Project. In a study of Americans' responses to the bomb, historian Paul Boyer observes that, from the outset, "the entire Hiroshima/Nagasaki story was carefully stage-managed by the American military." In the weeks after the two bombings, for example, the U.S. was able to discredit Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett's accounts of radiation sickness, persuading *The New York Times* that the reports were Japanese propaganda.

Almost as obvious as the inhibiting effects of secrecy is the irony it poses for a democratic nation: Decisions that are potentially the most important for citizens are among the least discussed. Nuclear weapons present an extreme, almost absurd case of interdependence: A single decision taken in a bunker near Moscow or Colorado Springs could endanger much of the globe. On the principle that acts affecting the most lives are the ones democratic institutions most need to regulate, one might argue that decisions about nuclear weapons should be the most open and widely discussed of all.

In a sense, then, control of nuclear weapons is the most public sort of problem conceivable. And yet this most public of problems in theory is among the least public in fact. To political theorist Robert Dahl this is the "tragic paradox" of the atomic age: "No decisions can be more fateful for Americans, and for the world, than decisions about nuclear weapons. Yet these decisions have largely escaped the control of the democratic process." The history of the nuclear age illustrates "a profound failure in the capacity of democratic institutions to achieve their purpose," Dahl observes.

Decisions about building, deploying, and using nuclear weapons, if they have to be made, can and should be made according to established policies. In principle, there is no reason why such policies cannot be decided democratically. However, as Dahl writes, "For the better part of four decades these questions were not even subjected to political debate, much less to control by public opinion expressed through elections and congressional action."

The Paradox of Public Secrets

An example of a policy that might be subject to public debate is that of Flexible Response, which, since 1967, has outlined a range of options NATO might pursue in response to an attack by Soviet conventional forces, including the possible first use of nuclear weapons. (For a discussion of the role that the Flexible Response doctrine played in the Democratic presidential primaries, see "The Campaign Press and Nuclear Issues," *Deadline*, July/August 1988.)

To illustrate how completely Flexible Response has escaped the democratic process, consider the results of a 1984 Public Agenda Foundation study, which found that 81 percent of Americans are unaware that the U.S. has declined to adopt a "no first use" policy. Seventy-eight percent do not know that it is U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons to repel a massive Soviet invasion of Western Europe with conventional weapons.

The refusal of the U.S. to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons is an example of what might be called a "public secret"—a fact that is publicly known but not known by the public. Such facts mark the limits of the public as an active body in a democracy, for they make it impossible for citizens to debate and help decide the matters the "secrets" concern. One can hardly get agitated about a policy one does not know exists. Thus, the same study that found a large majority ignorant of the first-use policy in Western Europe also found that three of four Americans oppose the use of nuclear weapons to repel a conventional attack.

Government efforts to restrict discussions are certainly part of the explanation for public secrets, but by no means the only one. Nuclear weapons tend to inhibit full public debate without any help from censors or information officers. This is perhaps the most significant fact about nuclear weapons as a political force: They overwhelm the resources democracy has for converting underlying problems into public issues.

Even the Freeze campaign, at its height a true mass movement, was unable to awaken the public to the issues that faced it. A May 1982 CBS/*New York Times* poll showed that, while most of the population said it favored the freeze, only 30 percent knew that Ronald Reagan opposed it, and 59 percent thought that the issues involved in the freeze were too complicated for the public to decide. These figures were problems for Freeze organizers, who needed the perception of massive public concern to advance their cause. But they can also be seen as problems for the press, and in a deeper sense for democratic politics as well.

This article was adapted from "Democracy Overwhelmed: Press and Public in the Nuclear Age," the fourth in a series of Occasional Papers available from the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

A public that believes it cannot understand the issues has, in effect, resigned its functions in a democracy, and a public realm that cannot produce for citizens even an acquaintance with the president's position has broken down completely. Under these conditions, whatever moral force the press could claim by upholding the "public's right to know" vanishes. Whatever truth there was in the politician's assertion of a mandate evaporates. Politics loses its dignity as a profession, and with it goes the dignity of a professional press.

The press normally relies on politics for a sense of what is happening in the country. It demonstrates this reliance in a number of ways—the prestige it bestows on Washington correspondents, the generous coverage it gives to election campaigns, the obsessive surveillance of the president. To grant such privilege is to assume that politics is a reliable mechanism for translating social realites into public issues. That assumption can, at times, be false. And since the onset of the nuclear age it is more likely to be false. If politics is itself flawed, or simply overwhelmed by the realities it must confront, then "covering politics" becomes a way of ignoring certain things, rather than a means of attending to them.

This is the challenge nuclear weapons pose for the American press. Accustomed to covering politics, the press finds it difficult to face problems that politics itself cannot manage, especially when those problems are not hidden away somewhere but out in the open, obvious in the extreme. Exposing scandal, dramatizing conflict, covering the campaign, getting the inside dirt—none of these ways of behaving journalistically addresses the problem of a paralyzed public realm. They presuppose a functional public realm, one in which public opinion will render a verdict if the press just supplies the facts.

The Press as Advocate

It may be time, then, to raise again the question of "advocacy journalism," but not in the sense that the term has formerly been used. The idea that the journalist should be an advocate of one political idea or another, one party or another, assumes again that politics is organized to cope with current problems, and that all the journalist has to do is choose a point of view and fashion a form of journalism that advances it. Most journalists are reluctant to accept this notion of advocacy, seeing it as a betrayal of their duty to report the truth as objectively as they can. Objectivity is a noble goal, but it cannot be reached by journalists themselves. Without a public that has the will and knowledge to put an objective report to use, objectivity is a hollow exercise. What the press needs to advocate, then, is not a particular point of view but a recovered public realm.

In this respect the nuclear freeze movement, for example, might have been deeply gratifying to journalists—not because it created a cause to join, or a point of view to advocate, but because it involved millions of citizens in the attempt to reclaim a political environment where the work of the press could matter more, where the "public's right to know" could find meaning in an actual public's need and desire to know, where journalism could become a passion that again made sense, not just for journalists, but for their readers and viewers.

What would it mean to become an advocate for the public realm? First, a complete and candid reckoning with the state of public knowledge is required. What matters are not the occasional and spectacular revelations of ignorance but the general level of understanding citizens exhibit about the most important issues and policies of the nuclear era. The Times Mirror Company, which owns the *Los Angeles Times*, *Newsday*, and other media properties, commissioned an in-depth study of the American electorate for the 1988 campaign, and publicized its findings widely. Although it focuses almost exclusively on opinion rather than knowledge, the study is a commendable attempt by the news media to understand its audience, and it suggests how a full-scale study of public knowledge might be undertaken voluntarily by the major newspapers, newsweeklies, and networks.

> U.S. first-use policy is an example of a "public secret"—a fact that is publicly known but not known to the public.

Second, the press needs to rethink its assumptions about expertise. In particular, it needs to consider the limitations of the specialized knowledge commanded by military planners, diplomatic negotiators, and policy analysts. Nuclear weapons raise many questions for which there are no expert answers, only moral choices that can either be recognized or denied. Without making a virtue of ignorance, the press could enrich its coverage of nuclear issues by more adequately reflecting the views of theologians, philosophers, and others who reflect on the moral dimensions of nuclear policy.

A third factor the press might consider is its attitude toward popular movements. Journalists have reasons to be cautious in their coverage of political causes. But they must take equal care that their own familiarity with current issues does not blind them to the potential significance of popular movements. Standing inside politics as resident critics, journalists may be tempted to dismiss citizen initiatives because of their simplistic demands, sentimental rhetoric, and naive expectations. This is especially likely in the case of nuclear weapons, where the gap between an insider's discourse and public understanding is so wide. But a press that was interested in an active public realm would inquire into the experience of citizenship in a nuclear world, especially when that becomes, in whatever manner, political.

What journalists take seriously is largely up to them. Among the freedoms they possess is the freedom to dismiss new developments as unimportant. But one thing the press cannot dismiss is the importance to itself of a healthy public realm, in which common problems are commonly understood. If, in confronting the challenge of nuclear weapons, the public realm fails to function, then so, ultimately, must the press. □

CBS's Wyatt Andrews: Using *Glasnost* for All It's Worth

Wyatt G. Andrews served as CBS's Moscow correspondent from January 1986 through January 1988. During that time he filed 101 stories for the evening news on topics ranging from the Reykjavik and Washington summits to the problems of child abandonment in the Soviet Union and the cleanup of the nuclear power plant at Chernobyl. Compared with the other networks—whose correspondents at the time were Walter Rodgers at ABC, Steve Hurst and Sandy Gilmore at NBC, and Peter Arnett at CNN—CBS, during Andrews's tenure, devoted the most attention to domestic reform in the Soviet Union, and was consistently open to the possibility that *glasnost* and *perestroika* were serious attempts at reform. Andrews, now CBS's State Department correspondent, recently discussed his time in Moscow with Lee Feinstein, executive editor of *Deadline*. An edited version of their discussion follows.

Deadline: How did you prepare for your tour as CBS's Moscow correspondent?
Andrews: I was a foreign affairs major at the University of Virginia, graduating in 1974. I specialized in Western Europe and Soviet affairs. That's pretty much the end of the story. I was very much a generalist, a non–Russian speaking news reporter, who just wanted to report from Russia very badly because I perceived it would be a hell of a story. And I was lucky enough to be one of the only CBS correspondents at the time volunteering to go to Moscow.
Deadline: Did you have any time for preparation between your previous beat, Japan, and the beginning of your tenure in Moscow?
Andrews: No.
Deadline: Did CBS provide any intensive course in Russian language studies?
Andrews: No.
Deadline: In retrospect, do you wish they had done that?
Andrews: Yes, I think they were shortsighted. But they have recently hired Jonathan Sanders away from the Harriman Institute for Russian Studies at Columbia University with the express purpose of sending him to Moscow when Barry Petersen has had his fill.* That's a farsighted move. But prior to my tour they had never taken great pains to teach television techniques to a Russian-speaking expert. They believe they don't need a Russian speaker nearly as much as they need a professional with television experience who can get on the air and be accurate in a very short period of time. There were a number of Russian-speaking print reporters who talked to CBS over the years, and they would have gone for a four-year hitch, but it doesn't do CBS any good if you can't take a story at ten o'clock and get it on the noon satellite for the evening news.

I hope I proved that their thinking is not all wrong, even though I don't think a lot of people in my category disappointed them.
Deadline: How quickly did you have to file reports?
Andrews: It sounds crazy, but it was almost commonplace that I would be writing my scripts for certain stories in the car on my laptop computer, and doing the voice track while we were stopped at a red light on our way to the satellite feed. That happened all the time. And this is why CBS is doing it right with Jonathan Sanders. They're giving him a couple of years to develop the television skills that he will need to be a successful television reporter.

I felt I was lucky during my tenure because so much was new and you didn't have to draw on special expertise. What was going on was obvious.
Deadline: How important were Western sources to your work?
Andrews: To my work, not much. The CIA does an annual report on the Soviet economy that is awfully interesting. By and large—and I don't mean this as a dig at the embassy officers—they were in the same business I was and just as awed and encumbered. I did not cultivate or use that many political sources at the embassy. I would go to the ambassador's briefing, which was basically a session where they would lay out what they thought. That was about the extent of it.

The embassy staff could be helpful in providing background such as: What happened to Yelena Bonner? Or, why is this area closed? The exceptions are the agricultural officers in the embassy, who sometimes get to do a bit more traveling, and also the commercial arm of the embassy, which has contact with all the American businessmen. They knew a lot of real Soviet people managing real areas of the economy.
Deadline: What about nongovernmental Western sources?
Andrews: We would seek the counsel of American or British academics all the time because the historical nature of the Russians is very important to remember when you assess their current behavior. I called Jerry Hough [professor of political science at Duke University] quite a bit. I called Dmitri Simes [a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace] frequently, certainly Jonathan Sanders, who was a CBS consultant. I tried to check in with Robert Legvold [the director of the Harriman Institute] every so often. I think I had one or two conversations with Stephen Cohen [professor of politics at Princeton University].
Deadline: What printed materials did you read while you were on assignment?
Andrews: I read a lot. *Time* and *Newsweek* were a given. *The New York Times, The International Herald Tribune*. I read *The Economist* religiously, *U.S. News, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, The Christian Science Monitor, Manchester Guardian, London Times*. And I read everything I could get my hands on from the TASS English wire. I also used my office translator to give me a daily

*Editor's note: CBS hired Sanders in September 1988. He is currently based in New York City, where he is on general assignment.

digest of the major studies in the Soviet press. I would also pay students at the Pushkin Institute to go through a broad range of the press to pick up some of the more interesting things and provide a three-paragraph digest on that.

Deadline: Did you have a chance to read government documents while you were in Moscow?

Andrews: I always read the CIA economic report. *Soviet Military Power* [from the Department of Defense], obviously. The annual or biannual book on disinformation that the State Department puts out is excellent. It's sort of a propaganda rag, too, but still it had a lot of good information on what the Soviets were doing around the world to spread nasty stuff about the United States. In general, I didn't read that many governmental reports.

Deadline: Which Soviet papers were most useful to you?

Andrews: *Ogonyok* was definitely number one in interest. *Moscow News* was number two. You have to remember that its audience was largely overseas. But those newspapers were just snapped up instantly. You had to read *Pravda* because that came straight from the Party. You had to read *Izvestia* because that remained, in my tenure, the most backward and propagandistic. *Sovietskaya Rossiya* began to get much, much better. And *Sovietskaya Kultura* was interesting to read because the Ministry of Culture was one of the last bastions of the old fogies.

Deadline: Your reporting differed in emphasis from that of Walter Rodgers of ABC and the other broadcast journalists. How conscious were you of how your stories were being interpreted politically at home? Did you find yourself reacting to other reporters' views of what was going on?

Andrews: I didn't care what Walter was doing there, or Steve Hurst, or Peter Arnett. I was worried about their beating me on big stuff, but I didn't care what they were going to say.

I had remarkable freedom at CBS. I don't think I ever had an editorial script-change in the entire time I was there. They might argue with me about a fact. But they never came back—zero times—and said, "We don't like your slant on your on-camera close. Change it to be harder."

The first part of your question is most interesting. Did I think about how this would be received politically at home? Yes, I did. But not because I was concerned that people would think I was being hard or soft on the Soviet Union. I've always wondered, "What do people really make of this?" I wondered about that a lot. Do people realize that there's a hell of a big change going on, but also that it doesn't really mean much in terms of the way we ought to behave?

Deadline: What do you mean?

Andrews: I didn't think much about the politics of what I was saying precisely because one of my political beliefs is that, for us, change in the Soviet Union ought to be irrelevant. It's not my business to report stories so that people back in the United States will be nicer to Gorbachev, or think he's another Brezhnev. I just went out there and reported it the way I saw it. If there was a big change, I said so. If something was more propagandistic, I said so.

The Story Count from Moscow

How much attention did CBS Moscow Correspondent Wyatt Andrews pay to *glasnost*, human rights, the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, and other stories? Below is the answer for the 101 reports Andrews filed for the evening news during his two-year tenure. The chart lists major subjects and the number of times Andrews focused on each.*

Nuclear Accident at Chernobyl	22
Human Rights (Violations and Improvements)	14
Summit in Washington	12
Glasnost and *Perestroika*	11
Arrest of Nicholas Daniloff	7
Summit in Reykjavik	6
Soviet Life and Culture	4
Boris Yeltsin Affair	3
Mathias Rust Trial	3
Soviet Depiction of Human Rights in U.S.	3
Afghanistan	2
Bugging of U.S. Embassy in Moscow	2
Twenty-seventh Party Congress	2
AIDS in the USSR	1
Departure of U.S. Ambassador Hartman	1
Exchange of New Year's Messages	1
International Peace Forum	1
Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution	1
Soviet Orphans	1
Soviet Space Program	1
Soviet Military	1
Visit of George Shultz	1
Visit of U.S. Congressional Delegation	1

**This information was derived from the abstracts of the Vanderbilt Television News Archive. Each story was assigned to only one category, and not cross-listed to include secondary subjects that may have been discussed. Researched by Jennifer Weeks.*

Deadline: But you must have been aware of the political implications of your reporting. How did that affect your work? In your own internal processes, were you affected by the political significance of what you were doing?

Andrews: It may be that a lot of reporters had a tendency to overstate the amount of change going on. You had a vested interest in saying, "Hey, look at this. Isn't this wild and wonderful?" Maybe I'm letting myself off the hook. I haven't soul-searched it. Maybe I did sit at my typewriter and say, "I've got to be hard on the Russians," but I can't say that's true or say it wasn't true. I just haven't been introspective about that.

Deadline: What was the process by which you were granted access to Chernobyl as the first American network newsman?

Andrews: Heavily schmooze. You know, you schmoozed the people you thought could get you access. A lot of reporters cultivated every source they had in order to get to Chernobyl first. In a lot of cases, the beats that people would score had to do with whom the Soviets wanted to pick. They felt like, "Oh, it's Wyatt Andrews's turn or Walter Rodgers's turn, or we don't like what Steve Hurst said."

Deadline: Did you think the Soviets monitored the network broadcasts that closely?

Andrews: I'm not sure. But when I would score a beat like that I would always keep it in the back of my mind that this is not an open society. And these decisions are capricious. You really had to put out an extraordinary amount of effort to get the Russians to say yes. But the actual fact that they would pick you was less of a victory. Almost everything major like that—who should be the first into Chernobyl, who is going to be first to get into a psychiatric ward, who gets to Gorbachev—is decided by the propaganda apparatus in the Central Committee. And the sooner you figured that out and the ways of getting yes answers from the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, the more effective you were going to be.

Deadline: Which officials were most useful in helping you gain access?

Andrews: Alexander Yakovlev was clearly the most important. He had the propaganda portfolio well before he was made a member of the Politburo. That was one of the first things Gorbachev did. He brought him out of his exile—he'd been an ambassador to Canada—and made him a member of the inner core. He had de facto control of propaganda before he actually had the title or was brought into the Politburo.

One of the smartest things I ever did was making friends with Vitaly Korotich of *Ogonyok* magazine. The earlier you figured out that he was the direct pipeline not just to Yakovlev but to Gorbachev himself, the sooner you started to make friends.

Deadline: In light of the changes that have taken place, would you say that Moscow reporters are now subject to some of the same problems that White House reporters face—intentional leaks, planted stories, that sort of thing?

Andrews: Sure. The craftsmanship of reporting from the Soviet Union is very much a manipulative, calculating art. The wheedling and cajoling for access to information, the schmoozing, the politicking, the glad-handing are every bit as bad as in Washington. But that made it fascinating. The system began to open up in that respect. And it wasn't just Korotich. There were lots of Soviet journalists who began to see opportunities that they never had before. And the more they saw Korotich, and the other Yakovlev [Yegor], the head of *Moscow News,* take chances and get away with them, the more excited they became about coming up with interesting stories and sharing them with Western colleagues. As the robot oil flowed out of their veins there was this catharsis going on.

Deadline: Were some American reporters slow to take advantage of the new sources?

Andrews: As an American reporter you were an idiot not to take advantage of it. Every reporter worth his salt used glasnost as a manipulative tool. You weren't doing your job if you weren't saying, "Hey guys, you're for glasnost, why don't you let me into Space City?" "Let me see a space shot." "Why isn't Kiev open?"

There was a euphoria in the American press corps that could be summed up as "Go for it." In general the atmosphere was, "God, we lucked into a good one, didn't we?"

Deadline: Can you suggest a half-dozen stories that television has yet to cover but ought to?

Andrews: Television has yet to successfully cover the nationalism story. In my time, nationalism was always one of those subjects that seemed to be the territory of the academics: "Hey, you guys in the media ought to do more on the nationalism story; it's really percolating." When you went out into the republics, in many cases you got the feeling that some people weren't on board the ship, that the Soviet Union was indeed a classic empire. It remains to this day a classic empire, not a real nation. It's a federation. Toward the second half of my tenure there I could not get into Armenia and I could never figure out why. There were three or four stories I wanted to do there, not one of which was the nationalism story, because I hadn't recognized it at that point. I had recognized how in Georgia and Armenia there was a sort of compact with the federal government that was different. In Armenia, especially, the way they talked about the federal authority was different. But, no, I never detected the wave of sentiment that we see there now. I did not sense in my time in Armenia that the public was capable of producing a demonstration of one hundred thousand in opposition to the Soviet regime. In retrospect, it's clear to me that the officials there sensed it and were afraid that I was going to do that story.

Another story I would suggest is the environment in the Soviet Union. I got one on the air concerning Lake Baikal, the obvious one. But there are others. There's a big dam outside of Leningrad that the local population wants torn down. It's killing all the wildlife and flooding too much area. But the Russians claim "closed area"

on that one.

The psychiatric story is still one worth following, as is their law situation. We were able to scratch the surface in "Seven Days in May"* on what the rule of law means to them and how they insist that judges are above influence by the Communist party. And of course that's complete crap. But at the same time Gorbachev is a lawyer and he has expressed repeated interest in having the rule of law, not party influence, as the standard for their judicial system.

Deadline: A final question. How would you respond to the criticism that reporters covering Moscow view the Soviet Union with a Cold War lens, whether they intend to or not?

Andrews: That's a good criticism, and I would admit to that flat out. I put a Cold War lens on a lot of my reporting. What is the Cold War? It is the subjugation of Eastern Europe. That's the beginning and the end of the Cold War. In a lot of other respects the Cold War is going away and rightly so. Do you know that there are now two Immigration and Naturalization Service officers at the U.S. embassy in Moscow making refugee applicants prove that they have been persecuted? That hasn't happened before. Not even after the Refugee Act of 1980, which theoretically removed the automatic granting of refugee status to a Pole or a Czech or a Soviet who wanted it. Until recently, if an Armenian could get to Rome, or a Jew to Vienna, he was in. Now that's changing. We no longer assume categorically that there's a well-founded fear of persecution on the part of every Soviet applicant with a visa. That's a major change in the Cold War.

On the other hand, we assume that the Russians are threatening the stability of Europe and the security of the United States because they keep troops in Eastern Europe and they keep political control over Eastern Europe. We occupied Japan and got out. They occupied Eastern Europe and stayed. And so it's entirely proper to do some reporting with a Cold War lens. □

*"Seven Days in May" was a two-hour special on contemporary life in the Soviet Union aired on CBS in June 1988.

The Pentagon Scandal

(continued from page 2)

the investigation. One such article, an op-ed published on July 10 in *The Baltimore Sun* by David C. Morrison, national security correspondent for *National Journal*, placed the latest scandal in historical context. Noting that just a few years ago the Pentagon's Inspector General revealed that nearly half of the top 100 contractors were under investigation for possible crimes and that military fraud dates back to the American Revolution, Morrison wrote, "Defense scandals, followed by ostensibly cleansing waves of procurement reform, have been a hardy perennial of American political life since the birth of the nation." Richard Halloran, the author of *To Arm a Nation*, a book that discusses weapons procurement, and a Pentagon correspondent for *The New York Times*, also concluded in a July 17 story titled ARMS SCANDAL: MORE THAN A MATTER OF GREED that the current investigation provided far from the first evidence of fraud and bribery, and that wrongdoing may have increased since earlier inquiries.

Little else, however, appeared about the legacy of defense corruption. The closest reporters came to a discussion of the government's record in prosecuting wrongdoing in defense contracting were stories about the GTE case published in the *Los Angeles Times* on June 26 by Broder and in the *Chicago Tribune* on July 4 by Christopher Drew and William Gaines.

Striking Omission

The lack of attention to the conduct of Ill Wind itself is striking considering the way the press got the story in the first place. Stories about the investigation first appeared when reporters received information directly from the FBI and the Justice Department about the initial searches together with lists of suspected individuals and companies. During the first few days of the story, reporters from all the major dailies attributed facts about the probe to law enforcement officials, federal investigators, the FBI, and the Navy. A June 16 story by *New York Times* Justice Department reporter Philip Shenon is representative. Shenon prefaced his report on the details of the case with the following explanation of his sources. "Officials of the FBI, the Justice Department, and the Navy Investigative Service," Shenon wrote, "agreed to discuss the case in general terms on condition that they not be named and identified only as law enforcement officials."

In addition to the background briefings, reporters were provided with separately prepared press releases by both the FBI and the Justice Department. FBI Director William S. Sessions had given a press briefing about the investigation, and Henry E. Hudson, the chief prosecutor in the case, also briefed members of the House and Senate on Capitol Hill.

This flood of official leaks, government press releases, press conferences, and background briefings by anonymous and named law enforcement officials was highly unusual in light of regulations restricting official comment on criminal investigations before an indictment is returned. Normally, it is considered improper for a government employee to release such information. In fact, after the initial flurry of intentional leaks and press conferences, the Justice Department invoked this rule in refusing to respond to further press inquiries.

Obviously, the Justice Department and the FBI deliberately chose to publicize the investigation. In the process, however, they may have damaged their case, as the government lost control over some of the information it was guarding. This included a copy of a wiretapped telephone conversation obtained by NBC News and aired on July 1, and three of the government's affidavits filed with federal courts in order to obtain search warrants for certain contractors. (Affidavits were filed in a number of courts and kept under seal, but the courts

in St. Louis, Dallas, and New York ordered the ones filed in those cities unsealed.) These actions represented potentially serious setbacks to the government because the affidavits, on top of the many leaks about the investigation, gave suspects and their attorneys a windfall of facts about the government's case. Usually prosecutors go to great lengths to prevent targets of an investigation from getting tipped off about the government's plans until it has gathered the evidence it needs for an indictment. It is puzzling that there has been so little discussion of these matters with regard to Ill Wind.

The press gets faked out time and again by the cycle of defense contractor investigations that eventually come to little or nothing.

There is another good reason not to disclose information gathered in an ongoing investigation. And that is to protect innocent persons, including, in this case, Pentagon employees, defense contractors, and consultants, who, after all, are entitled to fair treatment and ought not to be smeared or accused in a way that prevents them from being able to defend themselves.

The incautious information policy of government investigators should have led reporters to explore a number of questions, including how seriously the government probe may have been damaged by the premature release of information and also what motives were behind the government's decision to seek publicity for the investigation before any indictments were handed down. To date, however, few journalists have seen fit to fully investigate these questions.

Snail's Pace

Another underreported aspect of this case is the snail's pace at which the investigation is proceeding. Brian Sullam and Stephen M. Hagey, staff correspondents for *The Baltimore Sun*, briefly touched on this fact in an August 12 article. In a piece that raised questions about whether law enforcement officials knew how to proceed with the investigation, Sullam and Hagey noted that "prosecutors have asked reporters" covering the scandal "what they have uncovered in their own investigations that might lead to a better understanding of whether federal laws were violated."

The following week the first major story about the myriad difficulties in the investigation appeared in the August 22 issue of *U.S. News and World Report*. Alicia Mundy, an investigative reporter, wrote that "the hottest topic" at the annual American Bar Associaton meeting was "the uncertain status of the Pentagon bribery investigation that burst into the headlines earlier this summer amid dire predictions of more than 100 indictments. . . ." Mundy explained that Justice officials, private attorneys, and government investigators said the case was stalled as the result of turf and strategy battles between U.S. Attorney Hudson and his counterparts in Washington and Brooklyn; the possibility that the issuing of search warrants in June may have been premature; and the apparent failure to get any of the principal targets of the investigation to cooperate with prosecutors.

One month later, on September 20, *The Washington Post* ran a similar story by staff correspondents Caryle Murphy and Ruth Marcus. While Justice Department officials told the writers that all was well with the probe, Murphy and Marcus quoted an unnamed "law enforcement official" as saying, "At first blush we're not coming up with the smoking gun."

Despite these isolated efforts by journalists to take a closer look at the pace and conduct of the investigation, however, it remains to be seen whether the Justice Department will receive the scrutiny it merits.

The Real Story

Weak law enforcement in defense contracting has been a major contributor to defense fraud and other abuses. No procurement system, regardless of its design, could be made to work well in the absence of penalties for those who break rules. The line between accurate and inaccurate billing, an appropriate and an inappropriate claim, a friendly gesture or a bribe, is often thin. But mischarging, false claims, and bribes will be rampant in the absence of reasonable assurances that those who cross that line will be caught and punished.

Several recent government reports, including one by the Justice Department itself, document serious inadequacies in the enforcement of the laws governing military procurement. Key problems cited are inadequate and misallocated resources, excessive turnover of government attorneys, lack of expertise in defense contracting, struggles over jurisdiction within the Justice Department, and lack of cooperation between the Justice and Defense departments. A June 1988 report by the General Accounting Office on the Justice Department's management of defense fraud cases points to disarray at Justice, citing, among other problems, the high turnover rate of Justice Department lawyers, many of whom, the GAO pointed out, eventually go to work for defense contractors. Officials at the Justice Department have acknowledged shortfalls but so far have failed to remedy them. The Pentagon has taken some steps to strengthen its monitoring and investigative capabilities, but top officials still seem more willing to apprehend whistle-blowers than wrongdoers.

Many reporters who have covered the Ill Wind investigation have emphasized the fact that greed will always tempt some to break the law, and that waves of defense corruption are recurrent. These observations are true, but miss the point. The law enforcement system must be strong enough to deter and deal with those whose greed draws them into crime. The press gets faked out time and again by the cycle of defense contractor investigations that eventually come to little or nothing because of the ineffectiveness of law enforcement. That may be the real story of Ill Wind. □

Letters

Inquirer Fallout

To the Editor:

I found it sad and ironic that you published a piece on issues of journalistic ethics that violated simple rules of fairness, accuracy, and balance.

Where I work, if you bad-mouth a person in print, you pick up the telephone and try to call that person for his side of the story. *Deadline* failed to do this in its piece by Daniel Charles, titled "Pulitzer Prize Fallout: Journalists Rethink Attribution" [September/October 1988], discussing *National Journal*'s challenge to the Pulitzer awarded me for a series on classified Pentagon spending. *Deadline*'s readers should have been told that Lee Feinstein, *Deadline*'s executive editor, is a friend and former colleague of David Morrison, the *National Journal* reporter whose anger fueled the challenge.

That might have helped explain why the story falsely stated that sections of the first article in my series "appeared to rely heavily on Morrison's research." This is baloney. The only detailed published analysis of *National Journal*'s challenge, in the *Washington Journalism Review*'s June issue, examined every point the challenge raised on this question—and rejected every one.

It might also explain why a competing reporter [George C. Wilson of *The Washington Post*] was allowed to trash my work with a demonstrably false statement, and why no one associated with *Deadline* saw fit to telephone me for a response.

I'm sure your readers understand the competitive lusts and the personal and professional jealousies that unfortunately infect our trade. I hope they will also understand that I am sick of the nonsense that this phony controversy has engendered. I would have been happy to go through my series line by line and show my own research on every point to anyone who asked. I am sorry that *Deadline* didn't ask me.

Tim Weiner
Staff Writer
The Philadelphia Inquirer

Daniel Charles replies: I wasn't interested in rehashing the original Pulitzer dispute. It's old news by now. But it did provide a convenient springboard for the piece. For that reason, the opening section of the article summarized *National Journal*'s protest and the *Inquirer*'s response.

Instead of asking Weiner or Morrison to restate his case, I surveyed other defense specialists, asking them how much they relied on the work of others, and when they acknowledged that debt in print. Along the way, I found most of them sympathized with *National Journal*'s complaint. George Wilson's observation that "most defense reporters thought it was a rewrite job" was only one, although perhaps the most direct, of the quotes I could have used. Weiner may be outraged to see that in print, but it accurately reflects what I heard.

Of course Weiner did his own research on the article; no one is accusing him of plagiarism. But reporters on the defense beat read each others' work pretty carefully, and they felt that Weiner had retraced the steps of several other reporters, notably David Morrison, and Fred Hiatt of *The Washington Post*.

In general, the dispute over Weiner's Pulitzer divided defense specialists from generalists. The *Washington Journalism Review*, which Weiner cites in his behalf, implicitly took the *Inquirer*'s side by assigning a nondefense writer to the story. For the record, the *WJR* article did not reject *National Journal*'s complaints out of hand. It described an "occasional feeling of déjà vu" when reading Weiner's articles, and noted that the Pulitzer dispute "appeared to point up one of the dirty tricks of the Washington reporting trade: cribbing information from specialty magazines or newsletters to make oneself look good or omniscient."

That was the point of my article. No one who has read the *Inquirer*'s letter to the Pulitzer committee, hyping Weiner's article, could deny that the Philadelphia newspaper appropriated a good chunk of credit for work that others had done. The issue of acknowledgment in journalism is a serious one, and there's no point in calling this particular dispute "baloney," a "phony controversy," or "nonsense."

Lee Feinstein replies: As Dan Charles wrote, a number of journalists were interviewed for this piece who were critical of Tim Weiner's reporting. Presumably, not all of them were friends of David Morrison. I know David, but that friendship wasn't the reason for—and it wouldn't have prevented *Deadline* from—publishing this article, which we consider accurate and insightful.

Frozen Out

To the Editor:

I can add some personal experiences to your report on the limits placed by the U.S. and the Soviets on public access to verification ["INF Inspections: U.S. and U.S.S.R. Quietly Limit Press Access," September/October 1988].

In early August I was part of an international delegation invited to Kazakhstan to witness the first Soviet destruction of missiles. Early in September I decided that I would like to personally attend the first destruction of missiles on U.S. soil.

I spoke with Lieutenant Colonel Germain, commander of the Long Horn Army Ammunition Depot, who told me the event was not open to the general public, and that only press and VIPs, including Vice President George Bush, were invited because of the depot's limited facilities.

The whole thing turned out as I suspected it would—as a Bush media event. It does seem paradoxical, as I pointed out in each of my conversations with American officials, that I could witness this event in the Soviet Union but not in my own country.

Bernice R. Bild
Executive Director
Illinois SANE/Freeze

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ɔmmission, which will urge U.S. citizens ɔ pay more attention to economic rights ıd encourage Soviet citizens to press for ·eater political rights. Cortright says ıNE/FREEZE wants to promote the need ır economic rights in the United States ıd redirect resources away from military ɔending toward basic human services. And ɛ thinks that the Soviet Peace Committee ın influence positive changes in the Soviet ınion. By acknowledging human rights ·ogress in the Soviet Union and working ɔolitely and in an accepted manner" with ıe Soviet Peace Committee, SANE/ REEZE can "give legitimacy and a push" to olitical reform in the Soviet Union, ortright says.

Skeptics of the proposed commission be- eve that the diplomacy of friendly prod- ing may be an effective tactic, but they oubt that the Soviet Peace Committee is ommitted to expanding human rights in ıe Soviet Union. Joanne Landy says that ntil the Soviet Peace Committee openly hallenges the KGB harassment of Soviet ctivists such as Lev Timofeyev or Sergei rigoryants, comes out against the arrests nd detention of peace and human rights emonstrators in Czechoslovakia, or pub- cly condemns Soviet domination of East- rn Europe, the SPC does not deserve the egitimacy that a joint venture with West- rn independent organizations gives it.

However, Pam Solo, co-director of the nstitute for Peace and International Secu- ity, does not want to prejudge the joint ommission. She cites the constructive role he SPC has played in creating open discus- ion forums for Soviet citizens, including issidents, as reason to think the SPC *could* e a lever for progress. The key, Solo says, s whether American activists are "willing o ask the hard questions and to press hard n the Soviet officials they get access to. If he peace committee can get the U.S. peace novement to roll over and play dead on uman rights, why wouldn't they try to?"

To date, SANE/FREEZE does not know vhat the commission will do. When asked vhat the American side of the commission vould specifically seek from the Soviets— or example, would the commission visit risons, meet with known political prison- rs or dissidents, or question pertinent offi- ials?—both Cortright and Coffin said hese questions had not been worked out. When asked why the proposed commis- ion is to be "permanent," as stated in the ANE/FREEZE-SPC announcement, Coffin aid he did not know it was. Some observ- rs say "permanence" would take away the everage that SANE/FREEZE could other- vise exert by threatening to dissolve the ommission if the Soviets stonewalled.

Middle of the Road

Critics of SANE/FREEZE's entry into a joint venture with the Soviet Peace Committee say they do not mean to disavow any contact with the SPC or other official bodies. Joanne Landy, for example, says, "If we have something to say to the peace committees, we should say it—but not through formal joint ventures."

Landy, Solo and others believe all avenues of interaction between East and West on human rights and disarmament issues should be explored cautiously. "If the peace movement has a clear sense of purpose and is confident it has something to say to both Soviet and American governments," says Solo, "and the Soviet Peace Committee can provide access to Soviet officials, why not do it?"

Some activists call this tactic "progressive engagement." It means steadily working the human rights agenda into meetings with Soviets and East Europeans. Doug Hofstetter, director of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), explains: "You're frequently used in many circumstances, so you also try to see that some of your own agenda is raised as well." At the Kremlim meeting, Hofstetter asked Gorbachev about conscientious objection. "I asked him why the Soviet Union does not yet recognize the right of a Soviet citizen to make an absolute commitment to peace." Gorbachev evaded the query, but the exchange was shown on Soviet television.

In addition to speaking up at events sponsored by peace committees, Western activists pursuing human rights often try to meet with independent organizers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The point is to break official monopolies on peace and human rights and to establish international links at all levels of society.

"We have always maintained that for our own credibility we needed multilevel contacts, not just contact with official organizations," says Hofstetter.

"Detente From Below"

While FOR representatives mix their contacts with the Soviet Peace Committee and independent activists, a few U.S. organizations increasingly spend time with the independents, especially in Eastern Europe. Following the lead of many in the Western European peace movement and the West German Green Party, the Campaign for Democracy East and West and the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies (IDDS) are working with Eastern European activists to create "detente from below." This new detente is to be based on full implementation of human rights throughout Europe and the establishment of non-provocative defenses in the region.

Detente-from-below activists sometimes use militant protests, illegal meetings, underground publications and petitions to push for human rights. The demands on governments are fundamental: political pluralism and removal of all foreign troops.

"In our view," write the authors of *Giving Real Life to the Helsinki Accords*, "working for civil liberties and social rights is not only a moral obligation for everyone cherishing human dignity and democratic ideals, but also a political necessity if we want to create the conditions for a stable, lasting and democratic peace." And since governments resist these objectives, citizens themselves must "deepen contacts" to "build bridges across the rift dividing" West from East.

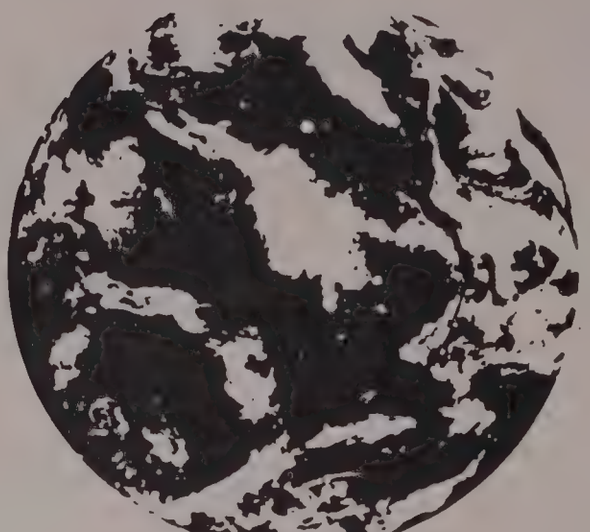
Yet joining with Eastern bloc activists is not as easy as it sounds. Because Western and U.S. government leaders attack the Soviet Union and the governments of Eastern Europe, many dissidents view Western governments as supporters of dissident interests. Many Eastern European activists believe that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." These activists distrust U.S. peace organizations that work with official Eastern European peace committees or seek arms control without linking it to dramatic improvements in human rights.

When Western activists side with the dissident "opposition," they do not get invited to the Kremlin for meetings with Gorbachev. The Soviet Peace Committee (like the Hungarian or Polish committees) does not provide detente-from-below activists with cars, drivers and translators. Official, professional delegations do not conduct exchanges with these people. As Joanne Landy and Rob Leavitt of IDDS discovered last May in Czechoslovakia, joining the opposition can lead to new acquaintanceships with officials, but not the kind of officials who like to talk about disarmament. Landy and Leavitt were arrested, along with four other Americans and 28 other foreigners, for attending an unofficial peace conference in Prague.

Friendly Diplomacy

Most Western peace activists and organizations have chosen not to challenge the Soviet Union or its allies and have refrained from joining the dissident opposition. Many American activists and professionals—doctors, lawyers, scientists, teachers—prefer decorous diplomacy to confrontation. By training, upbringing and professional habit, they are uncomfortable with confrontational tactics. They pursue human rights and disarmament quietly, through professional channels.

CONCERNED?



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International Physicians for the Prev tion of Nuclear War (IPPNW), which ceived the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize, trie maintain a single public focus—the m cal threat of nuclear war—while qui pursuing human rights with Soviet coun parts and officials. Dr. Bernard Lown, co-president of IPPNW, says a high-prc human rights agenda would have impe the group's attempt to build trust with viet physicians and would have been torted into a Cold War battle by the me

Lown says, "When you deal with Soviets on smallpox, you don't say, 'W about Sakharov?'" Similarly, he says, w one sees disarmament as a medical requ ment for humanity, one shouldn't distr attention from this problem by introduc other issues as difficult as human rig "Had we started with a dual track agen we would have never achieved the leve confidence and friendship and trust that have accomplished by this policy." kicker, Lown adds, is that "once you velop trust and understanding and yo working together, you talk to your frie on many issues. We have discussed with Soviets many issues of human rights."

A Strategy for the Times

The world is safer than it was five y ago. Then, Soviet Cold Warriors offe arms control, but not human rights. Am can Cold Warriors demanded hum rights, but would not talk about disar ment. Peace activists were pinned dow the crossfire.

Today there is hope on both fronts. kharov is free and active in Moscow. J ish emigration from the Soviet Union is The Soviet government is lifting restricti on religion. President Reagan has leg mated arms control.

None of this would have happened w out the radical shift in the policies of So elites. Does further progress require a s in American approaches to human rig and East-West relations in general?

"We are both seduced by and scared death of the Soviet Union," Pam Solo s "Seduced by the changes there, but sure they are real, and not sure whether must continue to operate out of the fear or do something else." The "so thing else" involves a change of perspect as much as it does a grand strategy.

"Americans should be more mode Bernard Lown believes. He decries "sheer hypocrisy of our yelping about man rights in the Soviet Union" w American conservatives are "completely souciant about human rights violations our borders—in Guatemala, in Hondu

(Continued on page

ORUM/PAM SOLO

POST-ELECTION PLANS

VETERAN PEACE ACTIVIST CHARTS POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR THE NEXT DECADE

With a new occupant in the White House next year, the $64,000 question is, of course, "What's next for the peace movement?" As f this writing, George Bush and Michael ukakis are still slugging it out on the cam-aign trail; I don't have the benefit of nowing who won on November 8. But it ally doesn't matter as far as the peace ıovement is concerned. Regardless of ho won the election, our agenda remains ıuch the same.

Sure the Democrats may be more recep-ve to peace politics for political and philo-ophical reasons, but the essential agree-ıent between Cold War liberals and onservative hawks provides continued ıomentum for the arms race and a static oreign policy. They will disagree about pecific weapons systems or certain actions ı Nicaragua. But until the underlying poli-ics of the Cold War are challenged, the eace movement will continue to play the ole of Sisyphus, pushing the rock of incre-ıental change up Capitol Hill.

The peace movement needs to redefine he larger security agenda, fight to give le-itimacy to our ideas and push back the oundaries of what is now considered rea-onable or politically possible. We can hape the terms of the U.S. security debate n the next few years by advancing policy roposals to end the arms race, restructure J.S.-Soviet relations, reduce military pending and create a U.S. foreign policy ledicated to resolving regional conflicts nd global problem-solving. In order to urn such proposals into policy, however, he movement must articulate a persuasive ew paradigm that moves beyond the logic f the Cold War as the context within vhich legislative, electoral and nonviolent lirect action campaigns are conducted.

What is the New Framework? The funda-ıental principle of "common security" is hat no nation can ensure its own security t the expense of another. Put another way, he security of one cannot be rooted in the ısecurity of another. A policy based on ommon security would require real steps oward nuclear and conventional disarma-ıent, economic and social development, nd active conflict resolution.

Common security is guided by the fol-

lowing principles:

1. All nations and peoples have a right to security.
2. In the nuclear age, national security cannot be achieved through unilateral action.
3. True security derives not from military forces but from economic prosperity and justice, vibrant social and cultural life and freedoms, the affirmation of human, civil and political rights, and full ecological integrity. Massive spending for military forces drains societies of needed financial, technical and human resources.
4. Military force is not a legitimate instrument for resolving disputes among nations or promoting national interests. National military forces must be confined to strictly defensive, nonthreatening postures.
5. U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union must reject confrontation and promote cooperation, trade, cultural interaction, problem-solving and peacemaking.
6. U.S. allies are autonomous and should define their own security needs.
7. U.S. relations with Third World nations must respect different paths of political and economic development. The United States should support global efforts to transcend poverty, repression and environmental degradation throughout the underdeveloped world. Local conflicts in the Third World must not be used as theaters of East-West confrontation.
8. International security leadership and direction must derive increasingly from transnational institutions devoted to conflict resolution, peacekeeping, verification and monitoring of military forces and agreements, problem-solving research, and development of international standards of economic, social and political rights.

What are the Policies? Common security policy options can be grouped in three categories: restructuring the military and reducing reliance on nuclear deterrence; broadening the security agenda to include international environmental and economic development challenges; and advocating political agreements to resolve conflicts, eliminate intervention and increase cooperation and confidence in the United Nations and other international organizations.

Restructuring the military and reducing reliance on nuclear deterrence. One of the most difficult tasks will be to move away from military definitions of security, restructure military forces and redirect the resources now devoted to them toward other threats to common security. Reliance on military strategies to achieve security cannot be changed without the assertion of other threats, nor can the habitual reliance on expanding military power be abandoned easily or quickly. Military doctrines and force structures must be replaced by defensive defense. Two parallel paths must be pursued in restructuring the military:

The first path, denuclearization, involves reducing and eliminating reliance on nuclear weapons, ending the qualitative competition in new weapon systems and reducing the number of nuclear weapons.

The second path, non-provocative defense, involves reducing and restructuring conventional military forces to smaller, purely defensive, nonthreatening defenses.

Broadening the security agenda to include international environmental and economic challenges. The international security agenda must be expanded to include global environmental threats, economic challenges posed by a global economy, and critical social and economic development

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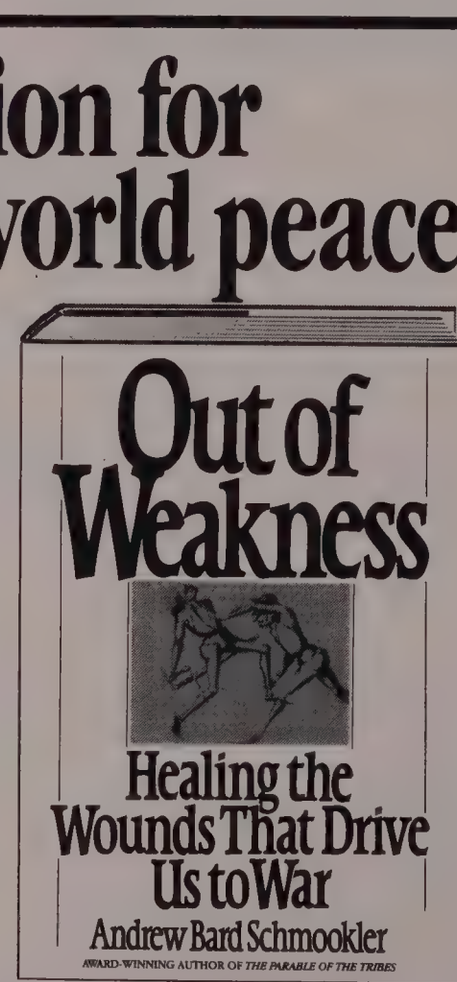
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problems in the Third World. Clea the peace movement has less depth of derstanding and experience in environm tal and development policy. Here, new a ances and coalitions can be built w environmentalists and with internatio development and domestic-communi development activists.

Advocating political agreements to solve conflicts, eliminate intervention a increase cooperation and confidence in ternational organizations. Restructur political relationships is as important restructuring military relationships. Th political agreements can be reached bil erally and multilaterally. New bilate contacts should be encouraged betwe governments and citizens movements a between citizens of all nations.

An urgent task in the restructuring international relations is the conclusion a nonintervention regime. Such a regi would end and delegitimize the use of m tary force as a tool of power by initiat regular discussions among major pow on military forces and doctrine, arms duction and confidence building; end current military interventions; and increa reliance on international mechanisms to solve conflict.

Citizen peace initiatives are also critic Peacemaking and the building of alter tive security systems cannot be left to g ernments. Citizens need to build their o networks and international organization

In addition, it is important to make point that cannot be fully developed such a brief essay. When planning our str egies, we must distinguish policy propos requiring popularization before they b come politically viable from those that c gain a credible hearing because they a being considered by Congress or have be raised by allied or Soviet initiatives.

Lastly, political strategy cannot be imp mented with weak organization. And ri now the peace movement continues struggle for organizational survival. Or nizations cannot be built without a co pelling, visionary and practical politi strategy. Funds seem to be drying up a morale in national offices is at an all-ti low. Funding and participation will crease when we get our political progra back at the center of our daily work.

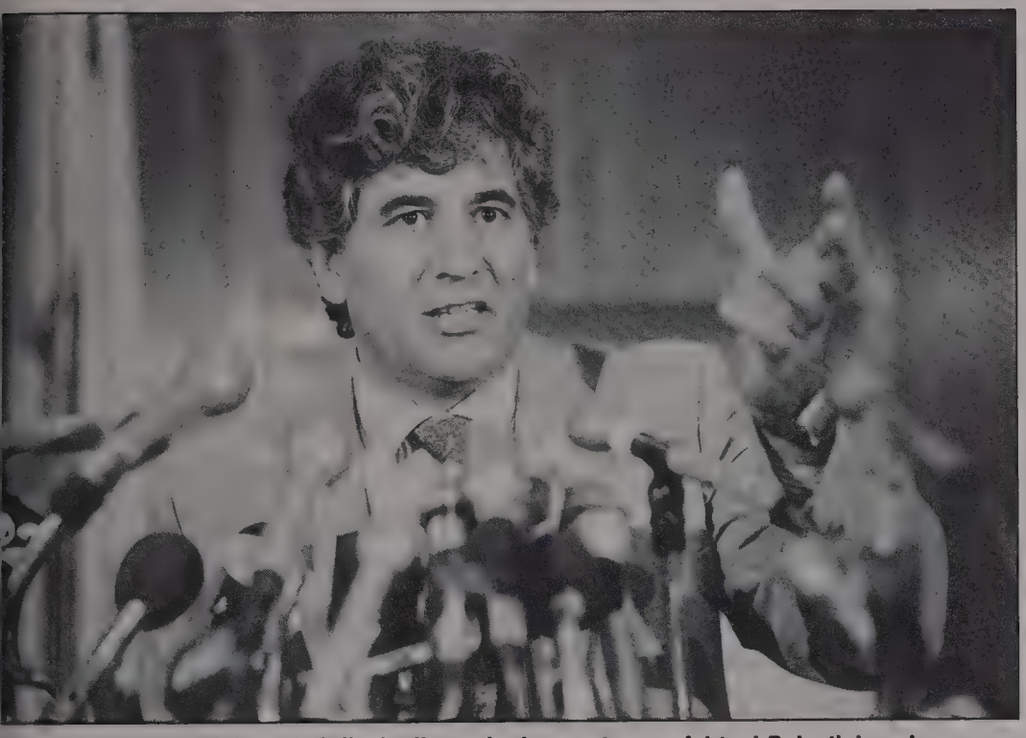
It is time to turn our attention towa generating and shaping the new security d bate. As we do this we can rebuild o movement and move from protesting p icy to shaping it.

Pam Solo is the co-director of the Ins tute for Peace and International Secur and the author of From Protest to Polic

LTERNATIVE SECURITY/JOHN FEFFER

ALL BUT A GUN

EHIND THE PALESTINIAN STONE THROWING RE THE MAKINGS OF A NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGN



ubarak Awad: Nonviolent civil disobedience is the most powerful tool Palestinians have.

Mubarak Awad doesn't fit any of the unflattering stereotypes many Americans hold about Palestinians. He is not a gun-toting terror-t—in fact, he eschews violence, even one throwing. Yet strictly speaking, wad, who was deported from the West ank last summer, *is* an insurrectionary.

During the *intifada*, the Palestinian up-sing that broke out in the Israeli-occupied erritories in late 1987, Awad became rominent as a champion of civil disobedi-nce. While many of his compatriots were rowing stones or lobbing Molotov cock-ails, Awad was organizing nonviolent acts uch as strikes, boycotts and tax resistance. lthough it was the violence that received ost of the news coverage around the orld, Awad believes his own politics of onviolence have been the rule in the *ntifada* rather than the exception. He says iolence has characterized no more than 5 ercent of the uprising's activities.

"In the beginning," says Awad, "it was a trategic decision. Israel is more powerful: f you have a gun, they have a tank." Pal-stinians, he says, decided "you could each the Israelis without that gun."

From his Center for the Study of Nonvi-lence in Jerusalem, Awad has for the last five years been researching the history of Arab nonviolence and promoting nonviolent civil disobedience as "the most powerful tool Palestinians have.

"When we use it, each and every individual is empowered . . . . Only 16- to 30-year-olds carry guns," he continues, "but with civil disobedience, kids, mothers, everyone can join in. The whole society is struggling, and they feel good about it."

For Awad, nonviolence is more than a tactical choice. "I am a pacifist, personally," he says. "I have a deep moral concern . . . . If I have a problem with my enemy, I believe you must talk to him." This belief is rooted, says Awad, in his Christian faith and is akin to the Quakers' "ritual" belief in nonviolence.

But Awad is quick to acknowledge that most Palestinians are not Christians, and that Quaker-style pacifism is not a part of Palestinian heritage. Yet he believes Palestinians can be won over to nonviolence.

"We can't tell a Palestinian who has been using a gun for years that he cannot join us," says Awad, but, "we say to him, try to use nonviolent methods, and see which he likes."

Resisting and building. Souad Dajani, recently a fellow at Harvard University's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, agrees that nonviolent tactics have dominated the *intifada* all along. She prefers, however, the terms "civil disobedience" or "civilian struggle." "Nonviolence," Dajani believes, connotes passivity to many. But the *intifada*'s aim is an active one: to raise the physical and moral costs of governing for the Israelis by disrupting trade and tourism, and by making the administration of the territories nearly impossible.

The most important component of this strategy, says Dajani, is "the establishment of alternative institutions." To that end, Palestinian consumers have boycotted Israeli goods, shopkeepers have closed their stores and taxpayers have stopped paying their taxes. The effect on the Israeli economy has been measurable: tourism has dropped; tax revenues have fallen some 40 percent. By the government's own estimates, the *intifada* cost Israel $600 million in the first five months.

Beit Sahour, a West Bank town not far from Jerusalem, is a case in point. Its Palestinian residents have succeeded in crippling the Israeli-imposed civil government through civil disobedience. They have refused to pay taxes, redirecting those resources instead to families who have been adversely affected by the demonstrations and boycotts. In addition, townspeople have established neighborhood anti-crime programs and an alternative school system in which teachers tutor children at home six days a week.

Supervising such acts of civil resistance are dozens of neighborhood action committees that together form a decentralized power structure that has replaced traditional Israeli-sanctioned leadership. Since the decision last August by Jordan's King Hussein to cut ties with the West Bank, whereby Jordan ceased to provide municipal services and canceled a $1.3 billion development plan, these alternative institutions have begun assuming even greater importance—so much so that in August the Israeli government deemed them threatening enough to outlaw.

Past and Present. The recent *intifada* is not a unique response to Israeli occupation. A general strike in 1969 and the Land Day protests of 1976 brought tens of thousands

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of Palestinians into the streets. From 1979 to 1982, Druze residents of the Golan Heights balked at Israeli attempts to assimilate them, rejecting Israeli-issued identification cards and conducting strikes against the civil administration. Meanwhile, for Palestinians in the occupied territories over the same period of time, protests averaged 500 per year. Since 1982, this number has mushroomed to an average of 3,000 to 4,400 per year.

The *intifada* of 1988 is the largest-scale uprising to date, and has involved the most widespread and protracted use of nonviolent tactics. Awad says the latter fact has won the Palestinian cause new credibility.

"Morally, the Israelis are becoming weaker," he says. The *intifada* has made it more difficult for them "to prove . . . that Palestinians are terrorists and don't reach the standards of civilization for [carrying out] nonviolence and civil disobedience."

Mainstream Israelis, however, seem largely unpersuaded of any Palestinian moral victory. A recent poll by the University of Tel Aviv showed that 41 percent of Israelis favor "transfer," or mass expulsion, of Palestinians, 55 percent oppose equal rights for Jews and Arabs, and 45 percent believe that Israel is "too democratic."

But for some Israelis, the Palestinians' use of nonviolent methods of civil disobedience has opened up possibilities for sympathetic action.

"The Israeli left will say to you that they are having their own uprising," says Deena Hurwitz of the Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz, California. She points to dozens of new groups opposed to the occupation, including the Israeli Wo en's Alliance Against the Occupation, *I le Kibush* (End the Occupation) and *Y Gevul* (There is a Limit), a group of Isra draft resisters formed in the wake of t 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The groups have carried out nonviolent actio such as vigils and marches, in sympat with the Palestinian uprising or, in so cases, jointly with Israeli Arabs.

A Peaceful Solution? While few pred the emergence of an explicitly nonviol mass movement—the kind, for examp that helped oust the British from color India—recent developments have rais hopes that a peaceful solution to the P estinian-Israeli conflict can be found. T Palestinian Liberation Organization (PL whose original charter denied the Isra state the right to exist, has increasingly pressed a willingness to recognize Israe right to security in exchange for Israeli r ognition of parallel rights for Palestinia

Jerome Segal, research scholar at t University of Maryland's Center for Phil ophy and Public Policy and a founder the Jewish Committee for Israeli-Palest ian Peace, has advanced a proposal fo political settlement through a unilate Palestinian declaration of independen Last April, in an article in Jerusalem's la est Arab-language newspaper, Segal call on the PLO to declare an independent P estinian state in the West Bank and Ga and to transform itself into a provisio government with the Palestinian Natio Council as a legislature.

Segal's scenario for such a state draws

(Continued on page

THE INTIFADA AND NONVIOLENCE

Mubarak Awad and other Palestinian proponents of nonviolence say the uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories has been overwhelmingly characterized by nonviolent methods. But can the *intifada* in any way be called a nonviolent *movement*?

Certainly not in the Gandhian sense. Mohandas K. Gandhi, the spiritual leader who led Indian nationalists to victory over British colonialism, proscribed *any* form of violence—including stone throwing.

Gene Sharp, director of Harvard's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, argues that the practice of stone throwing in the *intifada* has been harmful to the Palestinian cause. It means, says Sharp, that "Israelis can say, 'This isn't nonviolence—these people are trying to kill us.' That brings up memories of the Holocaust and justifies more repression."

Jerome Segal, author of a plan for Palestinian independence, believes stone throwing is precisely what has helped keep the uprising at a low level of violence. He believes the relevant question is whether protesters' actions are "lethal" or "non-lethal." To the extent *intifada* leaders have prevented the former, they have demonstrated "tremendous discipline," he says. As for the latter, "There's an important psychological and therefore political function [to non-lethal stone throwing]. It's a way young people can stand up—*one to one*—to Israeli soldiers, and express their rage." —*Donna Eberwine*

ESEARCH & ANALYSIS/RICHARD HEALEY

MELTED FREEZE

NEW BOOK ARGUES THAT EMPHASIS ON ARMS ONTROL SENT MOVEMENT DOWN THE DRAIN

om Protest to Policy *by Pam Solo (214 ges, $19.95, Ballinger, 1988).*

If you care about the U.S. peace movement, you should read this book. It chronicles the history of the movement over the past 13 years, provides a provocative account of what has happened to since 1982, and presents a cohesive way to think about its future.

According to the news media, the peace movement is dead. Solo disagrees. She says that it is still alive and well, with diverse activities across the country. But she also believes that something went terribly wrong in the national effort, as crystalized in the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, to stop the arms race and fundamentally change the dynamics of militarism.

Solo emphasizes two key areas to explain why the freeze failed. The first is political: the campaign transformed the freeze into an arms control issue rather than a peace and disarmament issue. The second is structural: the campaign itself had crippling organizational problems.

Solo maintains that the campaign began to unravel soon after it started. In 1981, it decided to focus on attaining a freeze without challenging the Cold War consensus. As Solo writes, "The words, the arguments, the way the movement shaped and defined the public discourse—these were critical to the [campaign's] ability to gain political power. It was engaged in a war of ideas, and early on it began to erode one of its most potent strategems: its break with the dominant discourse of arms control and the cold war." The concept of a comprehensive freeze was reduced to just another arms control proposal—and not a terribly radical one at that.

By staying within the orthodox Cold War framework, the freeze was much more acceptable to the public, the media and many elected officials. This popularity, along with its early victories in state referenda, led it to focus prematurely on congressional legislation. Solo's account of how the freeze campaign opted for such a strategy is fascinating. "By playing the insider strategy at the expense of building its political power, the movement eventually became domesticated—a lapdog for Washington's realists," she writes. "A sophisticated relationship to congressional allies is central to the task of changing policy. The question is, 'What is a sophisticated relationship?'"

The campaign's shortsightedness was understandable. It never seriously considered long-term strategy or goals. And this failure reflected its inability to develop an effective organization.

Solo's analysis of the movement's shortcomings will be controversial. She argues that a social movement's power comes from "building the influence and power of strong, grassroots campaigns. This demands, however, the strongest of national staffs and leaders. The more decentralized the organizing base of the movement, the higher a priority must be put on national strategy building and coordination."

The freeze campaign never understood this. Instead it displayed what Solo calls "pathological" organizational behavior. The campaign was deeply ambivalent about power and distrusted leaders. As with other U.S. social movements, the organizational life of the campaign reflected the "fierce individualism and the internalization of an atomized culture, even while rejecting it."

Solo does not discuss Sane or SANE/FREEZE, but the merged organization is today paying the price for its past shortcomings. The national office is in disarray, with no coherent strategy, and most of its local and state affiliates view it with skepticism. Its problems, however, are not insoluble; there are hundreds of local peace groups that continue to be a vital force for change.

One condition for renovation in SANE/FREEZE and the larger peace movement is open and critical debate about its problems—precisely the issues Solo raises in her book. But debate over future political strategy is generally dropped from short-term agendas. And organizational flaws are ignored or papered over until a real political or financial crisis emerges.

From Protest to Policy can help reawaken critical thinking about the peace movement. A tonic for an ailing movement, it will hopefully stimulate widespread discussion about the movement's past and future. □

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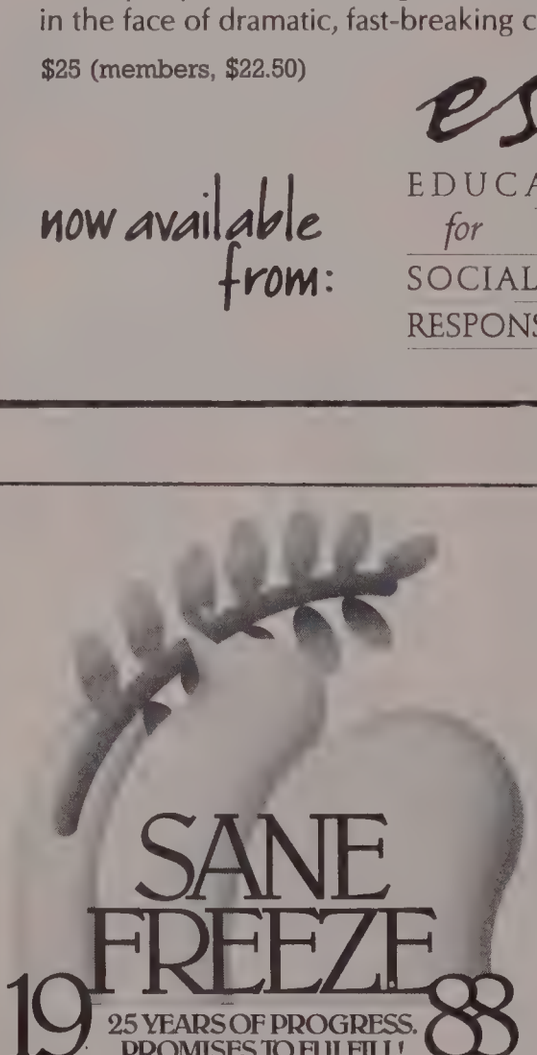

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RIGHTS/Continued from page 18

and in Haiti. I believe we ought to be m catholic in our approach to human righ he concludes.

Joanne Landy, Doug Hofstetter, Da Cortright and others concur that adopt a consistent and universal approach to man rights is necessary if the United Sta is really to get results from Soviet lead "If you're indifferent to breaking uni here, to homelessness and rising inf mortality rates among the poor, and all economic and political abuses in the Th World," Landy says, "it does make harder to build effective public pressure the Soviets on human rights issues. Pe movement arguments will also be m convincing to many Americans if they in cate a concern for these issues."

George Perkovich is a Somerville, Mas chusetts-based journalist and a fellow the World Policy Institute.

AWAD/Continued from page 22

the same aspects of the current upris that are central to nonviolent civil diso dience. He envisions a Palestinian state which *intifada*-born organizations wo become institutionalized, fostering e nomic self-reliance, local political cont and decentralized social services. In ad tion, Segal proposes that the new Palest ian government prohibit any lethal atta on Israeli settlers or soldiers. "Stone thro ing [would be] permitted," Segal wr "but only insofar as it is undertaken sy bolically (i.e., with no lethal intent)."

For Awad, the link between the up ing's tactics and the nature of any fut Palestinian state is *the* principal reason espousing nonviolence. "If Israel had be created through peaceful means, wouldn't have led to 40 years of war a violence. For Palestinians, if we use pea ful means [to achieve independence], will have a better state."

Are his fellow Palestinians listeni More, says Awad ironically, now that Israelis have expelled him.

"In the beginning, it was, 'Who is crazy fellow coming back after 10 ye and telling us to be nonviolent? He must a CIA or Israeli agent,'" says Aw "Thanks to the Israelis, however, I beca famous and the Palestinians accepted They said, 'If the Israelis want to dep him and give him a hard time, he must h been doing something good!'"

John Feffer is a Philadelphia-based f lance writer.

BOOKS

fending Civil Resistance Under Internanal Law *by Francis A. Boyle ($10, 379 ges, Center for Energy Research, 33 te St., Salem, OR 97301, 1988).* If you arrested during a nonviolent protest l appear before the bar, you'd better ry this book in your brief. It outlines the nciples of international law and provides ctical advise and legal strategy for dedants who practice "civil resistance," ion taken to resist the commission of ernational crimes by governments and sinesses. Boyle, a law professor, provides ailed trial materials for demonstrators otesting nuclear weapons, war in Central nerica or apartheid in South Africa. He n supplies his telephone number if you in a jam. *Civil Resistance* is must readfor anyone contemplating action that ld result in jail. —*Robert Schaeffer*

tellites for Arms Control and Crisis onitoring *by Bhupendra Jasani and shibomi Sakata ($37, 176 pages, SIPRI, 87).* It was a satellite-generated photoph that brought the Chernobyl disaster the world's attention. These pictures de clear to the public the risks involved things nuclear. But the photos did not me from tightly controlled U.S. or Soviet ellites.' They were taken by the new nch civilian SPOT system, which sells tures for about $1 per acre covered.

In *Satellites*, the authors shed valuable nt on the crisis-prevention potential of international satellite monitoring system t is independent of superpower control. sed on papers presented at the 1984 ckholm symposium on "An International and Regional Satellite Monitoring ency," the book analyzes the political stacles to the development of international monitoring systems and describes technical concepts basic to it. It is an ential introductory resource.

—*Susan C. Strong*

te of the World 1988 *by Lester R. own ($9.95, 237 pages, Worldwatch Inute, 1988).* Worldwatch puts out *State the World* annuals like clockwork. Like olex, its information is accurate, timely tough. This edition, which has a critical sessment of Star Wars, like the ceeding volumes, will surely stand the of time. —*R.S.*

nomics as if the Earth Really Mattered: Catalyst Guide to Socially Conscious Inting *by Susan Meeker-Lowry ($9.95 paper, 282 pages, New Society Publishers, 1988).* If an embarrassment of riches is your problem, this book is for you. It will help you avoid putting your money into the wrong corporate hands.

Meeker-Lowry provides information on mutual funds that screen out objectionable enterprises and describes opportunities for investors in small businesses that help solve local problems: the Sunflower Recycling Cooperative, which started as a volunteer recycler and then expanded to provide employment and other services to households; the South Atlanta Land Trust, which rehabilitates housing scheduled for demolition; and Peace Fleece, which sells U.S.-Soviet wool to homespun activists. This collection of anecdotes and resources will help you invest your money and your time.

—*Louise Seeley*

Nuke *by Bert Dodson ($12.95, 128 pages, McFarland & Company, Box 611, Jefferson, NC 28640, 1988).* For the past six years, Bert Dodson has been drawing a comic strip called *Nuke* for a handful of alternative weekly newspapers. Now, with the arrival this collection, everyone has a chance to see Dodson's wry view of the Reagan military buildup through the eyes of his main character, Nuke, a goofy-looking, bulbous-nosed missile with nuclear arms and legs.

Dodson's strip mines the absurd humor underlying not only the arms race, but contra aid and acid rain as well.

In one strip, Nuke talks tough about his favorite topic with a young couple:

"Accidents, false alerts, proliferation," says the husband. "Man, we're so worried we don't sleep at night."

"That's the price you pay," quips the steely-eyed peacekeeper, "for security."

Who says nuclear weapons aren't funny?

—*Elliott Negin*

At Work in the Fields of the Bomb *by Robert Del Tredici ($15.95 paper, 192 pages, Harper & Row, 1987).* Del Tredici, whose photographs have appeared in the pages of *Nuclear Times*, took six years to assemble this powerful collection of black and white photographs depicting the various stages of nuclear weapons production. He includes photos of scientists, military men, anti-nuclear activists and radiation victims, who, in the last third of the book, talk about their experiences with Del Tredici. The book won a 1988 Olive Branch Award. —*E.N.*

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NETWORK

ORGANIZATION NEWS AND COMMENT

AFSC

Third World Americans Want Peace Too

In the debate over the Democratic Party platform, mainstream politicians and activists joined hands on such issues as "no first use" of nuclear weapons and peace in the Middle East. It is significant to note that the leadership behind this partnership came from black Americans.

Such political action by black leadership flies in the face of the popular conception that blacks are not concerned with peace issues. "Blacks are too busy trying to survive" and "Blacks should not be burdened with *our* issues" are the justifications put forth in the name of anti-racism to rationalize the nearly exclusive white composition of the peace movement.

Nearly two years ago the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) began to challenge this conventional wisdom. Building on its long history of East-West work, AFSC expanded its outreach to black and other Third World American communities by establishing a broad-based East-West program. The program holds seminars on foreign policy for elected officials, journalists, civil rights leaders, religious leaders, peace activists and trade union officials from these communities. It helps national civil rights and religious organizations develop workshops on East-West relations for their national meetings. And it organizes multiracial delegations of scholars and journalists for international seminars with their Soviet counterparts.

This work has revealed that there are in fact *two* peace movements in this country—one white and the other Third World—a division that, though articulated in racial terms, is fundamentally political. While white peace activists generally separate issues and then "ghettoize" constituencies, Third World peace activists focus more on the interdependence of domestic and foreign policy. Indeed, they are as concerned about the human devastation caused by poor schools, bad housing, inadequate health care and drugs as they are about the impact of nuclear weapons.

Generally speaking, the Third World constituency has been opposed to the pc World War II containment policy, partic larly U.S. intervention in the Third Worl It rejects the bipolar East-West focus foreign policy and insists that countri have a right to self-determination. This seen as a political whole and not separat from issues such as arms control.

Many of the concerns raised by bla leaders at the Democratic convention from "no first use" to the Middle East never found their way into the final doc ment. If the peace movement—the prima ily *white* peace movement—had press more forcefully in support of these co cerns, the party platform could have bett reflected the policies cordial to the pea and justice agenda. It is only when the tw peace movements begin to work mo closely—and become in fact *one* mov ment—that the goals common to both w be realized. —*Michael Simmo*

Michael Simmons is coordinator AFSC's East-West Programs. For inform tion contact AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Phil delphia, PA 19102, (215) 241-7000.

ESR

U.S.-Soviet Teachers' Institute

"I have been to the Soviet Union befo done work there, had Soviet visitors in n home, but this was the most powerf thing—working on something equally wi Soviets," said Roberta Snow, foundi president of Educators for Social Respo sibility and co-director of ESR's first U.S Soviet Institute, held at Hampshire Colle in Amherst, Massachusetts, in mid-Augu "To produce materials, you have to unde stand each other's culture. You're not ju having dinner or showing someone yo capital," she said.

The two-week institute was a mileston for ESR and the Soviet Academy of Ped gogical Sciences. Although tours, e changes and school visits by Soviet a American teachers have become commo this was the first chance for Americans a Soviets to collaborate on educational a proaches and new materials for use in bo countries. The institute brought togeth 18 Soviet teachers, principals and admin

ors with 24 of their American counter-
s in an intense effort to understand and
rove the way each country teaches
ut the other.

or Valentina Bolshakova, an assistant
ıcipal in Leningrad, the institute helped
"have an open mind, find the ability to
stion authority, have skills to ask ques-
ıs." Discussions throughout the sessions
e frank, but not adversarial—some-
ıg Alexei Shubenkov, a Soviet English
:her, found surprising: "[The Ameri-
s] listen to each thought so intently
hout interrupting. They criticize our po-
ɔn and their own position with such
e and stick to the point."

Robert Brown, an American world his-
y teacher, described the "wonderful
se of hope" expressed by Soviet teach-
particularly in regard to educational re-
ms in their country. He added, "Never
I get the sense they were jealous of our
ıntry or wanted to stay here."

One of the most challenging issues dis-
sed was how, in a time of renewed ef-
ts to improve U.S.-Soviet relations,
chers in each country can teach about
h touchy issues as American settlers'
ıtment of American Indians and the
ɔcities of the Stalin era in the Soviet
ion. "We both have a commitment to
ching kids to be idealistic and that
re's a future for them," Snow said. "So
at placement do the horrible acts of the
t have? How do you teach them fairly?
struggled for some of the answers."

The educators wrote recommendations
teaching about changing stereotypes,
man rights, foreign policy and the mass
dia, as well as short units on teaching
out each other's countries. Excerpts of
se materials and a report on the institute
l be available from ESR in December.

Teachers from both countries will con-
ue their discussions and collaborative
terials development throughout the year
l in next summer's institute, which will
held in the Soviet Union.

*For more information about this or
er ESR programs, contact ESR, Dept.
, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA
138, (617) 492-1764.*

PSR

w Language for e Security Debate

ericans are ready to engage in a "his-
ic debate" about national security poli-
s and spending priorities. So concludes
n Marttila, a public opinion analyst
rking with Americans Talk Security,
ed on that project's recent series of opinion polls on national security issues. The polls show broad support for deep cuts in strategic nuclear weapons, a willingness to cut military spending and cautious optimism about future relations with the Soviet Union—all good news for PSR and other groups that have been calling for an end to the nuclear arms race.

With this good news comes a new challenge: to use our hard-earned knowledge, credibility and communications skills to shape the debate about national security toward achieving key goals: a U.S.-Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, a negotiated comprehensive test ban, the dismantling of the Star Wars program, reductions and eventual elimination of nuclear arsenals, and a reordering of national priorities in favor of social well-being.

PSR members are active participants in this debate. As op-ed articles from around the country are beginning to document, we are having an impact on the terms used to define national security, assuring that issues such as public health, education, the environment and unemployment are viewed as being at least as important components of a secure nation as are military procurement and deterrence.

Dr. Howard H. Hiatt, a leader of the medical community in Boston and a member of PSR's advisory board, outlined the role of the physician in a *Washington Post* article on August 2, 1988: "Setting national policy on nuclear arms surely requires accurate technical knowledge," Hiatt wrote, "but it also requires value judgments.

"You don't have to be a physician to argue that the health of our children is crucial to our national security. That lesson hits home as we examine the deterioration in health status of America's children following reductions in government support for basic health programs during the last eight years.

"Infant mortality rates, which had fallen steadily for 20 years, have begun to level off and in some parts of the country have actually risen. There are more low-birth-weight babies in the U.S. than in most other industrialized countries .... Yet the nutrition program for women, infants and children ... has money to care for only one-third of those who are eligible. (This, despite the fact that prevention of low birth weight saves money.)

"In the defense sector, as in the medical, the nation cannot afford to do all that many might like to do, whether it's Star Wars defense shields or heart-lung transplants. In both sectors, even if waste is removed, choices must be made. Physicians may reasonably be asked to point out the likely benefits of more money for prenatal

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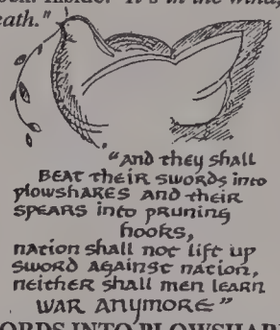
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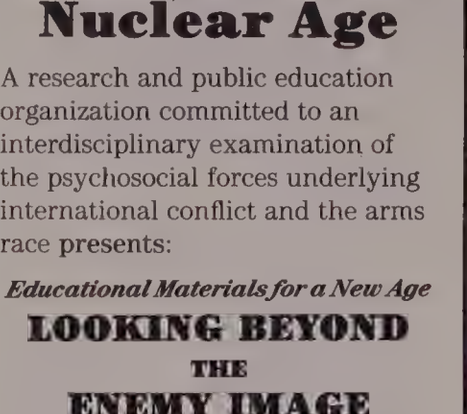

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care, for example. Defense experts should similarly be held to account for the implications of additional dollars for the Trident II D-5 missile.

"The question is the same: When investments are necessarily limited, which contribute more to national security? . . . [I]t is up to physicians and defense experts to provide the kind of active advice Americans need to make informed choices."

Mark your calendar: PSR's national meeting, "National Security in the Nuclear Age," will be held March 10 and 11, 1989, in Palo Alto, California.

For more information, contact Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 800, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 939-5750.

ADPSR

Building Bridges, At Home and Abroad

Architects/Designers/Planners for Social Responsibility recently won a grant from the W. Alton Jones Foundation. It will enable us to create programs and provide financial aid to new and existing chapters.

For 1989, we are planning a major bicoastal fund-raising project, through a series of lectures in New York and Los Angeles by several world-renowned architects from our board. Charles Gwathmey, the acclaimed architect, is coordinating the events.

In October, ADPSR's New York chapter launched a new outreach program, the Alliance of the Building Community, for members of the real estate and construction industries. The project's kick-off event, at the International Design Center in Queens, featured Carl Sagan, noted scientist and peace advocate, and won the support of more than 60 leaders in real estate, construction, development and design. The meeting explored ways of involving the building industry in efforts to achieve a better balance between defense and vital social needs.

In the international arena, ADPSR participated in the first plenary meeting of International Architects, Designers and Planners for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IADPPNW), held in July in Stockholm. ADPSR representatives met with design professionals from around the world. Inga Thorsson, former Swedish ambassador to Israel, delivered the keynote address, which emphasized the connection between disarmament and international economic development. Co-chairs Tician Papachristou of ADPSR, and Yuri Platonov of the U.S.S.R. Union of Architects, led sessions on the philosophical and organizational issues the worldwide network must confront.

As part of our agreements with t U.S.S.R. Union of Architects, ADPSR h developed exchange programs for studen faculty and professionals. Our New Yo chapter is developing a joint "Childhood the City" project with Moscow University School of Architecture. In Septemb ADPSR Vice President Rose Marie Rab accompanied students and faculty from t Southern California School of Architectu to the Soviet Union for five weeks of stu travel and teaching. In turn, students a faculty from Moscow University are pla ning a visit to Los Angeles. Work co pleted by the U.S.-Soviet design teams which includes a museum for Russi toys—will be exhibited and an accompan ing catalog published.

ADPSR's new officers are: Preside Sidney P. Gilbert; Vice President, Rose M rie Rabin; Secretary, Estelle Brisker; Tre surer, Eric DeVaris. For more informatio contact ADPSR, 225 Lafayette St., Ne York, NY 10012, (212) 431-3756.

SANE/FREEZE

In the Red Rockets' Glare

It was an opportunity to be present at t destruction of the first group of Soviet m siles under the Intermediate-range Nucle Forces (INF) accord. Who could refuse?

I joined a group of 27 observers, repr senting the peace movements of six con nents, for a trip last August to somewhe 2,000 miles east of Moscow. During t five-day visit I had the definite feeling th something very different and significa was going on, and that this internation event could be ushering in a new era. It w the kind of thing you tell your grandch dren: "I was there when they began d stroying the missiles."

The Soviets treated the event as high ce emony. Thousands of Soviet citize greeted us in Taldy Kurgan, the city close to the Saryozek military base, where t weapons were stored. They carried sig and banners protesting the weapons a heralding their demise. They showered with flowers, gave speeches and listened our responses. A military plane flew ov releasing clouds of paper doves, while b loons carried peace messages skyward.

At the base, the Soviets had laid out 4 SS-12s and SS-23s—all the missiles fo merly deployed in Czechoslovakia and Ea Germany. It was an awesome sight: the missiles were to die at our hands, and n we at theirs.

At a press briefing, I joined others climbing atop the missiles, fully expecti

order to get down and stay back. But ıe came; on the contrary, Soviet officers ed to pose with us for pictures.
ater, from a nearby hill, we waited for moment to arrive, aiming cameras at r SS-12s whose nuclear charges and dance systems had been removed. Then y exploded, releasing a huge balloon of ow and black smoke, followed by nderous shock waves—then cheers and lause from the crowd. Afterward, we ıt down to the shallow crater left by the st, where we gathered missile fragments ouvenirs.
n the following days, our group met h the prime minister of Kazakhstan, the ond-largest of the Soviet republics, and h members of the Soviet Peace Committ- and the U.S.A.-Canada Institute. The cussions were remarkably open and nk—another story, but a hopeful one.
For me, representing SANE/FREEZE and men for a Meaningful Summit, and er members of the U.S. delegation—pt. James Bush of the Center for Defense ormation and Peter Bower, a Columbia iversity geologist representing the U.S. ice Council—the event was of enor- ous importance, appropriately emonialized. But only our actions in the ct period will ensure that the event rked the beginning of the destruction of nuclear weapons; it is peace activists' ponsibility to see that the destruction of se weapons continues and that no more built. —*Bernice Bild*

Bernice Bild is executive director of Illi- is SANE/FREEZE. National SANE/ EEZE headquarters is at 711 G St. SE, ashington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100.

WAND

assroots Action

e Pentagon's tendency to disperse its ograms geographically has created an portunity for grassroots activists to fight apons and weapons waste in their own metowns. "As much as we are interested national issues," says Kathleen Lee of AND Redwood (California),"we have a ique opportunity here for action." Her apter is raising awareness about a nearby val station that tracks Soviet submarines. eople here think they are safe because y are so far away from everything, and re we've found that we are right near a obable first target!" says Lee.
In Iowa, Dubuque WAND heard from mers that a local resident was trying to y and rezone farmland in order to burn nuteman missile fuel in an open pit. The a's depressed economy makes an opportunity to pull in Department of Defense dollars attractive, but local farmers were savvy enough to recognize that such fuel burning could release toxins that would make their crops unsalable. They joined with WAND members in opposing the zoning change.

Cynthia Schweitzer of WAND Pima (Arizona) discovered recently that highly toxic missile fuel was being transported through nearby Tucson. She and other members persuaded their congressional delegation to demand that the Air Force reroute the fuel through a less populated area.

In Columbia, Missouri, a Pentagon plan to base MX missiles on rail cars is still raising dander. Though the stated intention is to make the missiles less vulnerable than they would be in hardened silos, critics believe the basing plan makes more of the country a target of nuclear attack. Columbia WAND is appearing at public hearings to testify against Missouri basing; other WAND groups on rail lines, including Lincoln County (Montana) WAND, expect to become active on the issue this spring.

Central Michigan WAND is working with other local peace groups at the research end of the Star Wars program. Through demonstrations and discussions with the board of trustees at Michigan State University, they are voicing their opposition to research being done there.

In Palo Alto, California, Mid-Peninsula WAND is supporting state Assemblyman Tom Hayden's efforts to increase the University of California's (UC) oversight of Lawrence Livermore (California) and Los Alamos (New Mexico) laboratories. Lobbying efforts by individual scientists against a test ban treaty and Edward Teller's penchant for issuing misleading statements on the state of current research have motivated some legislators to suggest that UC, which runs both labs, more closely supervise their activities.

Massachusetts WAND groups in Fitchburg and Cape Cod have successfully opposed the stationing of Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) towers in their area. Their tactics have included public hearings, meetings with local officials and letter campaigns targeting their representatives in Congress.

Echoing what WAND members across the country think about the technology for fighting nuclear war, one Fitchburg WAND member said: "I'm opposed to any of that technology, and the closer to home it is, the more I'm opposed."

For more information, contact Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174, (617) 643-4880.

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SANE/FREEZE, America's largest peace and justice organization, seeks Executive Director. Applicants must possess extensive managerial experience. Strong leadership skills a must. Send resume and two letters of reference by November 10th 1988 to: Pamela Toutant, 3220 N St., NW, Suite 351, Washington, DC 20007. EOE/AA

THE W. ALTON JONES FOUNDATION in Charlottesville, VA, seeks a full-time program director to administer a $2.5 million per year grant program in avoidance of nuclear war. Professional background in nuclear arms policy, arms control and U.S.-Soviet relations desirable; government experience a plus. Salary negotiable. Send resumes to: R. Jeffrey Kelleher, Director, W. Alton Jones Foundation, 433 Park St., Charlottesville, VA 22901.

NUCLEAR TIMES is accepting applications for internships. The program is a full-time apprenticeship in both editorial and business aspects of magazine publishing. Send resume and cover letter to: Senior Editor, *Nuclear Times*, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20009.

Merchandise

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB 1989 WALL CALENDAR. Great Gift Idea, $6.95 ppd: NEBRASKANS FOR PEACE, 129 North 10th, #426C, Lincoln, NE 68508. Special rates to peace groups for fundraising projects.

CLASSIFIED

Merchandise

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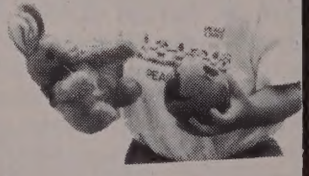

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Originally sold in a very limited edition, the recording has become a collector's item. Because of many requests, it has been reissued as an audio cassette.

Cassettes are available for contributions of $10 or more to Women Strike for Peace 145 S. 13th Street, #706 Philadelphia, PA 19107.

Publishing

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CALENDAR

vember

to 5, Washington, D.C. The In- ternational Security Studies Sec- tion (ISSS) of the International es Association will sponsor "Fu- ecurity Policy: Issues and Initia- " a conference on both the fu- policy environment and critical s facing the next president. *Con-* (202) 994-7115.

nwide. Superstation WTBS-TV roadcast "Mandate from Main t: Americans Advise the Next dent" at 10:20 pm EST. This pre- ion documentary, which first October 28, examines nuclear control and national security. *act:* Union of Concerned Scien- (617) 547-5552 or Better World ty (202) 331-3770.

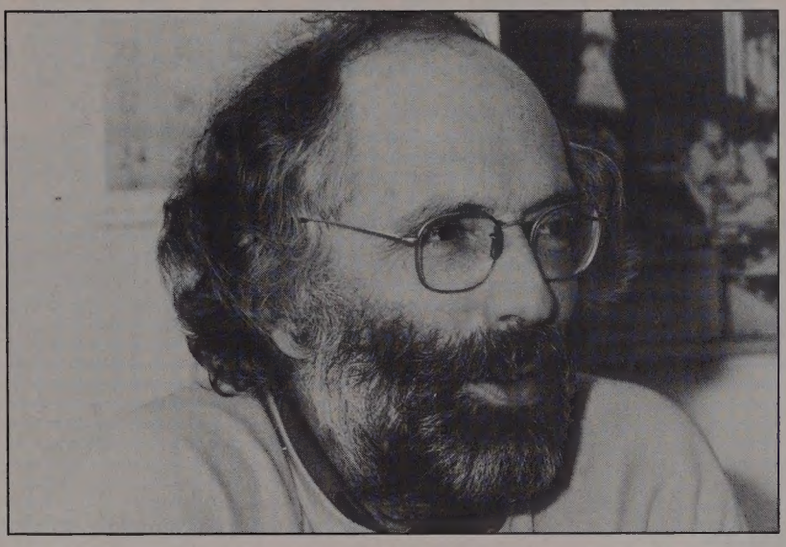
to 14, Nationwide. The Consor- tium on Peace Research, Educa- tion and Development will co- sor the Third International e Week of Scientists. *Contact:* d Krieger, Nuclear Age Peace ndation, (805) 969-9137.

to 13, Harvard University, Cambridge. The Institute for Media Analysis will sponsor nternational conference with the ne "Anticommunism and the History and Consequences." ls, workshops and plenaries in- igating the influence of communism on foreign and do- tic policy will be offered. Film se- and art shows will complement conference. For a full listing of ts in the Boston area, *contact:* Demeter (617) 522-3553.

Boston. The American Med- ical Students Association, along with several other ps, will sponsor a working con- nce on "Preparing Our Economy Peace: The Genuine Security of a lthy, Productive Nation." Sey- r Melman and Lloyd J. Dumas discuss economic conversion is- with participants. Additional kers from the fields of labor, ness and politics will also partici- . *Contact:* (Eastern United States) or Sidel, (212) 920-6586, (West- United States) Rosalind Singer,) 527-2163.

to 18, Litchfield, Connecti- cut. The Midwest Academy will hold a training session organizers and social change ac- ts. *Contact:* (312) 645-6010.

Annapolis, Maryland. The League of Women Voters of Maryland will hold its An-



Wim Bartels and other European activists tour the U.S. beginning December 5.

nual Citizens' Lobbying Course featuring the Honorable Thomas V. Miller, Jr. as the keynote speaker. *Contact:* LWVMD (301) 269-0232 or 261-2413.

21 to 23, Philadelphia. The Brandywine Peace and Justice Community will hold a three-day pre-Thanksgiving "Fast for Justice and Peace" with an around-the-clock vigil at General Electric's nuclear missile plant, from 7 a.m. Monday until 5 p.m. Wednesday. *Contact:* The Brandywine Peace Community, P.O. Box 81, Swarthmore, PA, 19081, (215) 544-1818.

25 Worldwide. The day after Thanksgiving is the International Day Against War Toys. *Contact:* War Toys Campaign, Box 1093, Norwich, CT 06360, (203) 889-5337.

December

2 to 4, Winter Park, Florida. The Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice is sponsoring a statewide conference on Central America and the Caribbean, which will be held at Rollins College. *Contact:* Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice, P.O. Box 2486, Orlando, FL 32802, (407) 422-3479.

Seattle, Washington. The Midwest Academy will hold a training session for organizers and social change activists. *Contact:* Joy Marshall (312) 645-6010.

3 to 10, Nicaragua. Nicaragua Interfaith Committee for Action will take a delegation of interested people to tour the country. *Contact:* Janine Chagoya (415) 433-6057.

5 to 9, Nationwide. Leading European peace activists will be touring the United States, meeting with grassroots activists and discussing the future of the peace movement in Europe and North America. For a schedule of appearances in your area *contact:* British American Security Information Council, 1601 Connecticut Avenue NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 332-9222.

18 to 20, New York City. *Tikkun* magazine will hold a conference, "Rebuilding the Liberal/Progressive Tradition of American Jewish Intellectuals," at the Penta Hotel. Speakers will include Grace Paley, Irving Howe and Alfred Kazin. *Contact:* Josh Henkin (415) 482-0805.

Nationwide. PBS will broadcast "Your Water, Your Life," an encouraging account of how cities across the country are responding to widespread contamination of natural groundwater supplies. Produced by the Public Interest Video Network. Call your local PBS affiliate for exact time of showing.

21 Moorestown, New Jersey. The Brandywine Peace Community will hold a candlelight Christmas service at the General Electric/RCA Electronic Systems Department/Aegis Combat Engineering Site, where the Aegis combat system for Navy warships and Tomahawk cruise missiles are tested and produced. *Contact:* (215) 544-1818.

January

18 to 28, West Palm Beach, Florida. The Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice will sponsor a "Post-Inaugural Pilgrimage for Peace." Pilgrims will march from Pratt-Whitney in West Palm Beach to the Kennedy Space Center for a mass rally on the 28th. *Contact:* Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice, P.O. Box 2486, Orlando, FL 32802, (407) 422-3479.

23 Nationwide. PBS will broadcast "Dawn," the first part of a thirteen-part series "War and Peace in the Nuclear Age," produced by The Annenberg/CPB Project. The series was designed to be part of a telecourse that can be taken for college credit. For information on how to take the course *contact:* 1-800-LEARNER. For general information about the series *contact:* Betty Travis or Amy Rosenberg, (212) 315-8000.

Ongoing

Chicago, The Peace Museum. *Third World Ties* will be the next special exhibit, on display until January 1989. The multimedia exhibit, which deals with the effects of superpower expansion into the developing world, will feature works by the sculptor Mark McGinnis and original textile art from Central America. *Contact:* LeeAnn Schray (312) 440-1860.

Nationwide. The Center for Defense Information will continue to present its weekly TV program, *America's Defense Monitor*, on various cable and PBS stations around the country. *Contact:* Sanford Gottlieb, (202) 862-0700

Los Angeles. *Peaceworks*, a weekly television series that appears on public access cable systems, explores ways to resolve conflict without violence. *Contact:* Christopher Toussaint (213) 666-9140.

Nationwide. National Weapons Facilities Network is a network of over 400 local groups across the United States organizing around nuclear and conventional weapons production, research, testing, and storage sites military bases and naval ports. To join, *contact:* National Mobilization for Survival (212) 995-8787.

Information Hotlines: Common Cause legislative hotline (202) 833-1319; Central American legislation (202) 543-0664; nuclear arms control (202) 543-0006; nuclear tests (702) 731-9646; peace and justice issues (202) 547-4343; Senate/House switchboard (202) 224-3121; South Africa (202) 546-0408.

Compiled by J. Peter Nixon

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The American Association for the Advancement of Science
Invites applications for the 1989-1990

Science, Arms Control, and National Security Fellowships

Fellowship Program

AAAS will competitively select **outstanding postdoctoral to mid-career scientists, engineers, and other appropriate scholars and professionals** for the 1989–1990 Science, Arms Control, and National Security Fellowships.

The fellowships will be for one year, beginning September 1, 1989, and will be located in Washington, DC. Typically, fellows will work in appropriate **executive agencies** of the federal government, or in **congressional offices, committees, or support agencies.**

AAAS will guide the placement process, provide an informative orientation program, and coordinate frequent seminars on a variety of topics related to arms control and national security.

Purpose

The fellowship program will (1) provide a unique "hands-on" **public policy learning experience** for those selected, (2) allow participants to **make direct contributions** toward the more effective use of scientific and technical knowledge in government decision making, and (3) *develop, over time, a community of scientists, engineers, and other appropriate scholars and professionals* who have the policy-making experience necessary to make important and sustained contributions to the development of effective arms control and national security policy.

Criteria

Applications are invited from candidates with some **experience with arms control/national security issues** and demonstrated **excellence in any area of engineering, the physical, biological, behavioral, social, or policy sciences, or science-related professions.** Minority and handicapped candidates are especially encouraged to apply.

Awards

AAAS will award six Science, Arms Control, and National Security fellowships. A stipend of up to $30,000 and a nominal relocation and travel allowance will be provided to each fellow.

All application materials must be completed and received by **January 17, 1989.**
For application forms and additional material, please write to:

Dr. Elizabeth J. Kirk, Senior Program Associate
Science, Arms Control, and National Security Fellowships
American Association for the Advancement of Science
1333 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005